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Moore Knew About Parton Annual 'Artist Fee'

But his staff disputes
as irrelevant findings
of feasibility study

By DON CARRINGTON
Executive Editor

RALEIGH

Staff members of State Treasurer Richard Moore acknowledged July 10 that Moore knew about Randy Parton's annual \$1.5 million "artist fee" but disputed as irrelevant a key contention of a feasibility study regarding the arrangement to build with public funds a theater in Roanoke Rapids named after the entertainer.

For more than two months Moore and his staff have avoided answering questions about the project.

Moore is chairman of the Local Government Commission, which gave final approval Feb. 6 for Roanoke Rapids to borrow \$21.5 million to finance the Randy Parton Theatre. The commission, whose staff is housed in the treasurer's



State Treasurer Richard Moore (above left) knew of the \$1.5 million artist's fee arrangement with Randy Parton (above right) when the Local Government Commission, of which Moore is chairman, approved the financing arrangement for the Randy Parton Theatre (above center) in Roanoke Rapids. (CJ photos by Don Carrington)

office, must approve all city and county plans to borrow money. It determines whether a local government can afford to pay the money back.

Deputy Treasurer Vance Holloman and Debt Management Director

Tim Romocki, Moore staff members involved in the Parton Theatre approval process, acknowledged, when asked by *Carolina Journal*, that Moore specifically knew about Parton's annual fee before approving the project.

CJ also asked them whether Moore was aware of a feasibility study that required 200,000 square feet of retail space and two hotels first to be in place for the theater to succeed. Holloman and Romocki would not answer the question and suggested the requirement was irrelevant. The theater was scheduled to open July 26, but only one hotel was under construction, and none of the retail space had been started.

The 35,000-square-foot theater was completed and turned over to Parton in March. It is to be the cornerstone of the Carolina Crossroads Entertainment District, situated along Interstate 95. According to his agreement with the city, Parton has almost total control of theater operations and is responsible for making monthly payments to cover the city's loan on the project.

A lot was riding on Moore's approval of the project. If the public financing had not been approved, the private developer, B&C Roanoke LLC, would

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CO2 Alarmist Organizations Affecting Policy in N.C.

By PAUL CHESSER
Associate Editor

RALEIGH

The Center for Climate Strategies, which is using funds from foundations that promote carbon-dioxide constraints because of global-warming fears, is influencing government climate-change policy in several states, including North Carolina.

In almost all cases the states' taxpayers are paying little or no money



Private advocacy money is paying for research used by N.C.'s global warming advisory group.

for CCS's research on cost and benefits, while the private foundations — some with explicitly alarmist viewpoints on the dangers of human-induced carbon-dioxide emissions — provide funds that

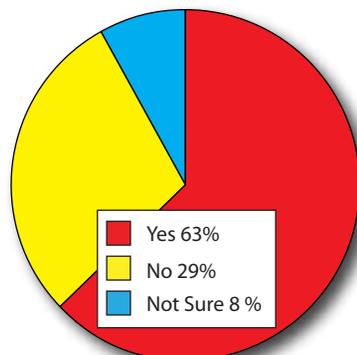
produce recommendations that, if implemented, would cost taxpayers millions of dollars in additional taxes, as well as placing restrictions on property rights, vehicle usage, and growth.

The fact that private advocacy money is paying for the research behind North Carolina's Climate Action Plan Advisory Group (CAPAG), and similar panels and commissions in other states, has raised questions about whether a predetermined bias affected their findings.

"I certainly have some concerns

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Do you believe global warming is a threat to North Carolina?



John William Pope Civitas Institute Poll, July 2007

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Moore Knew of Parton 'Artist's Fee'

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have had to obtain private funds for the long-term financing of the facility. Roanoke Rapids officials are planning for ticket sales and other theater revenues to raise enough funds to pay the debt service and Parton's \$1.5 million annual fee. If those funds are not enough, local sales or property taxes will have to be used.

The theater's first show, scheduled for July 26, was to feature Parton and his newly formed band, The Moonlight Bandits. A schedule posted on rptheatre.com indicates his shows will run Wednesdays through Saturdays for the remainder of the year, but no other acts were listed.

Feasibility study

Roanoke Rapids hired Economics Research Associates, an international consulting firm, to study the feasibility of the Randy Parton Theatre.

According to information on the company's Web site, "ERA is the leading consulting firm serving the entertainment and leisure development industry, and has "pioneered the analytical techniques and methodologies related to the planning, development and operational evaluation of many of the world's leading attractions." An employee in ERA's Washington, D.C., office said the manager for the Roanoke Rapids project was Bill Owens. When *CJ* reached Owens by phone, he refused to discuss the study and said he was told by city officials not to answer any questions about the study.

Both the initial report, dated April 15, 2005, and the final report, dated Dec 13, 2005, said ERA considers the proposed Randy Parton Theatre a "market-viable attraction concept, given that the following underlying assumptions are met":

- "Key elements of the larger proposed development, including two hotels, at least 200,000 square feet of retail space, and additional entertainment/amusement opportunities are operational by the time the theatre opens."
- "The theatre is competently and proactively managed to maximize earnings and deliver a product that is in tune with the marketplace."
- "The show(s) associated with theatre are of high quality, are regularly "refreshed" with new content, and are appropriately targeted to draw from resident and visitor segments."
- "Pre- and post-opening marketing efforts are sufficiently funded, and are successfully targeted to generate a healthy mix of visitor market attendance."
- "The theater achieves an average, per-attendee ticket price of about \$23, which reflects an adult ticket price of



The Randy Parton Theatre sits completed and alone in the Carolina Crossroads development. According to a feasibility study, two hotels and at least 200,000 square feet of retail space had to be completed before the theater opened. The questions surrounding the Parton Theatre have even prompted a story in the supermarket tabloid *National Examiner*, see below. (CJ photo above by Don Carrington)

about \$30 combined with effective discounting and ticket packaging policies designed to encourage repeat and family visitation."

• "The theater is able to draw on a range of non-ticket revenues typical to similar venues, for example concessions and gift shop revenues."

• "The \$3 million reserve funded by the City of Roanoke Rapids is an available resource for covering expected start up costs and operating deficits."

• "No major act of terrorism or war, or other major economic shocks, have significant negative impact on the domestic tourism economy during the forecast horizon."

The fund-raiser

Moore, a Democrat, said May 22 that he will be a candidate for governor in the 2008 election.

Roanoke Rapids area supporters sponsored a fund-raiser for him June 11 at the home of Halifax County Commissioner Gene Minton. Minton is also a board member of the Halifax County Convention & Visitors Bureau. The bureau is a government agency, and board members are chosen by the county commissioners.

Tickets to the fund-raiser were \$100



per person, with Patrons, Sponsors and Hosts paying \$500, \$1,000, and \$2,000 respectively. Listed at the top of the invitation, apparently designated as hosts, were people with close ties to the theater. Included were Roanoke Rapids Mayor Drewry Beale, Carolina Crossroads developer Michael Dunlow, theater employees Cathy and Mike Scott, and State Rep. Michael Wray, who helped

secure state funds to promote the project.

Documents obtained by *CJ* show that the bureau's executive director, Lori R. Medlin, used her government e-mail account the day of the fund-raiser to solicit attendees. "Subject: Fundraiser for Richard Moore," the e-mail said. "Please review the attached invitation. It is not too late to decide to attend. You may arrive at the event this evening and check in with Gene." Medlin sent the e-mail to an undisclosed list of recipients. A copy of the invitation was provided as an e-mail attachment.

Medlin did not return phone messages seeking comment about her work for the Moore campaign. Two years ago the General Assembly appropriated \$500,000 to promote the Parton Theatre and surrounding Carolina Crossroads Entertainment District. Medlin's bureau is managing those funds. *CJ*

CO2 Alarmist Organizations Affecting Policy in N.C.

Continued from Page 1

about whether or not we're getting an objective review about the state of the science and the benefit of the state taking some action," said state Senate Minority Leader Phil Berger, an Eden Republican.

How CCS operates

CCS, a policy center of Pennsylvania-based nonprofit Enterprising Environmental Solutions Inc., says it is not an advocacy organization, unlike its parent nonprofit, the Pennsylvania Environmental Council. Instead, CCS officials say, they help with climate-action planning processes, drawing together representatives, called "stakeholders," from various business, advocacy, nonprofit, and governmental groups within each state where they work.

Tom Peterson, the executive director, says CCS is a "policy-neutral" service organization that facilitates the climate-action process, by: introducing carbon-dioxide mitigation options for consideration; providing technical analysis; creating a greenhouse gas emissions inventory for the state; providing moderation and mediation for meetings and conference calls; helping stakeholders reach consensus on decisions; and maintaining records, Web sites and meeting notes.

"It's strictly for supporting information exchange," Peterson said. "Our

commitments are to the purposes and goals of the processes."

Peterson said CCS has no role in the outcomes, nor do its donors. He said his organization is interested in state self-determination on its climate change choices.

"Once [stakeholders] develop that list [of approved options], it is their decision," he said. "We don't make those decisions for them."

As far as how CCS gets involved with a state or region in the first place, Peterson said his band of advisors goes only where they are asked.

"We act on invitations," he said.

Getting the invitation

But apparently that applies only to the official climate-action planning process itself, after a CAPAG-like group is established either by a governor's executive order, or by a legislative action. In fact, CCS says on its Web site it is involved in the creation of the state groups before they are hired by the states.

"Our work actually begins long before a governor launches a planning

"In light of the global and national momentum ... many are convinced that North Carolina must prepare its economy and its people for a carbon-constrained world."

Excerpt from
NC DAQ report

formal stage of engagement when we are formally asked to serve as an expert and neutral third party to manage the process of developing a state's climate action plan."

In late May CCS was poised to get an invitation from Florida. Peterson spoke at a global-warming conference in Tampa, and warned that Florida is among the top 30 emitters of greenhouse gases in the world, the *St. Petersburg Times* reported. The newspaper said Gov. Charlie Crist, a Republican, "has a strong interest in the issue," and that he wants to put solar panels on the governor's mansion and drives around Tallahassee in an ethanol-fueled vehicle.

"Emissions have to go down in order for us to stabilize," Peterson said at the conference, according to a Sarasota

Herald-Tribune report. "State political leaders have decided it's time to act. This is not a problem without a solution; there is a wide range of solutions."

CCS appears to cultivate its clients by first targeting governors. Arizona, New Mexico, Montana, Minnesota, Vermont, South Carolina, and Washington all established their climate-action groups via executive order issued by their respective governors.

A similar attempt was made with North Carolina, where the state's Division of Air Quality justified the creation of the Climate Action Plan Advisory Group through language in the 2002 Clean Smokestacks Act. In December 2004 CCS wrote in a proposal (marked "confidential") to the state that Gov. Mike Easley approve a greenhouse gas mitigation policy planning process. In the proposal CCS cited language from a September 2004 NC DAQ report on carbon-dioxide emissions.

"In light of the global and national momentum," the proposal said, quoting the carbon-dioxide report, "and because of the risks and opportunities climate change poses for our state, many are convinced that North Carolina must prepare its economy and its people for a carbon-constrained world."

But Easley never issued an executive order on climate change. In DAQ's view Easley's approval was not necessary, since the agency cited authorization

Continued as "CO2," Page 4

Parton Theatre Financial Statements 'Trade Secret'

By DON CARRINGTON

Executive Editor

RALEIGH
Roanoke Rapids City Manager Phyllis Lee refused July 23 to release a Randy Parton Theatre quarterly financial statement that she had received from Randy Parton's production company.

The city borrowed \$21.5 million to build and launch the theater project and it retains title to the property. The theater was completed in March and leased to Moonlight Bandit Productions, Parton's company.

Lee told *Carolina Journal* that the financial statement was marked "Proprietary and Confidential." North Carolina's public records laws require most records in possession of public officials to be disclosed upon request.

Lee also issued to *CJ* the following statement: "The City of Roanoke Rapids received the quarterly financial statements from Moonlight Bandit Productions, LLC as required in the Economic Development Agreement. These financial statements are confidential information as defined by GS 132-1.2 and therefore release of this information to the public is not authorized. The City will continue to provide information that can be disclosed under the public records law."

The General Statute cited by Lee states that public agencies are not required to release information a public contractor considers a "trade secret."

N.C. Press Association legal counsel Amanda



The Randy Parton Theatre's opening performance was scheduled for July 26. (CJ photo by Don Carrington)

Martin told *CJ* that she disagrees with the city's position. "The quarterly financial statement on the theater's operation cannot be considered a trade secret of Parton's company," she said.

In April, on the advice of the city attorney, Lee initially refused to release to *CJ* the economic development agreement between Moonlight Bandit, the city, and private developers.

Days later, after consulting with David Lawrence, a municipal government expert with the UNC Institute of Government, she released the document. The document showed that Parton was to receive an annual \$1.5

million "artist fee," plus housing and a vehicle.

According to the agreement with the city, Moonlight Bandit has almost total control of theater operations and is responsible for making monthly payments to cover the city's loan on the project.

Moonlight Bandit's specific obligations in the agreement are relatively few. They include cooperating with the city and the developer, procuring professional music and entertainment artists, and producing performances.

The agreement does require Moonlight Bandit to deliver quarterly financial statements to the city 15 days after the end of each quarter. The most recent statement was due July 15.

The city is planning for ticket sales and other theater revenues to raise enough funds to pay expenses, including Parton's \$1.5 million annual fee and the monthly debt service on the \$21.5 million. If those funds are not enough, the city will have to use local sales or property taxes.

Local officials expect the 35,000-square-foot, 1,500-seat theater to be the anchor of the 1,000-acre Carolina Crossroads entertainment and retail development, off Interstate 95 south of Roanoke Rapids.

The theater's first show featuring Parton and his newly formed band, The Moonlight Bandits, is scheduled for Thursday night. A schedule posted on *rptheatre.com* indicates his shows will run Wednesdays through Saturdays for the remainder of the year, but no other acts are listed. *CJ*

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for CAPAG from the Smokestacks bill. But according to the agency's written justification for sole-sourcing the contract with CCS, the lure of private foundation money to finance the project was attractive as well. The justification cited carbon-dioxide mitigation efforts in other states.

"These efforts and concepts have drawn the attention of 'several foundations' which are active in assisting development of public policies in this area to the point that they, working through [CCS], ...have indicated a desire to assist [North Carolina] in making such a plan development possible," the document said.

North Carolina put \$100,000 into its CAPAG project, while the following carbon-dioxide-conscious foundations covered most of the rest of the \$350,000 budget: Rockefeller Brothers Fund, \$100,000; Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, \$75,000; the Surdna Foundation, \$30,000; and the Marisla Foundation, \$20,000.

Bringing the money with them

CCS has used private money, raised from foundations focused on carbon-dioxide reductions, to administer climate-action policy groups in all the other states they've worked in as well. The fact that states have to spend little or nothing on their projects is attractive to government officials concerned about their climate-change policies. For example in Montana, where the state paid minimally for its \$370,000 Climate Change Advisory Committee project, air-quality officials avoided the competitive bidding process because of all the foundation money that CCS brought.

"It appears to the department that only one source, the Center for Climate Strategies, ...is acceptable or suitable for the service desired," a Montana Department of Environmental Quality official wrote in a "Request for Best Source Contract Approval." "No other contractor group of which the Department is aware has the funding to perform the whole project, of which the Department's contribution of \$50,000 is but a small part."

In other states the need for special approval to skip competitive bidding was unnecessary, because the minimum threshold for requiring competitive bids wasn't met because of all the private money CCS contributed. The New Mexico Environment Department paid only \$20,000 for CCS to assist its Climate Change Advisory Group. Minnesota will pay no more than \$40,000 for its commission, the same amount Arizona contracted to pay. A representative for South Carolina Gov. Mark Sanford, a Republican, said his state is paying nothing for CCS to advise its Climate, Energy and Commerce Advisory Committee. In fact, according to Sanford spokesman Joel Sawyer, South Carolina doesn't

have any written agreement with CCS.

"There is no contract between us and this group," Sawyer said.

Amounts paid by other states working with CCS were not available in time for publication of this article. But the public funds paid by Arizona, New Mexico, Minnesota, and South Carolina fall well short of North Carolina's \$100,000 taxpayer participation for CAPAG.

Who's paying?

In every state where it works, CCS, in its documents that explain the climate advisory group processes, prides itself on the transparency of the groups' project through public meetings, public documents, and Web site accessibility to those documents.

But the transparency has limitations. The fact that CCS brings its own funding to a venture — despite that is initiated by government and designed to influence public policy — means it does not have to divulge its financial sources for its various state projects. CCS did provide for *Carolina Journal* detailed information about its private funds received for North Carolina's CAPAG, but declined to respond to subsequent rounds of inquiries about foundation funding for other states' projects.

"I believe that it is best that you receive this information from the states where the work is occurring," said Brian Hill, a director on the board of CCS's parent organization, Enterprising Environmental Strategies, Inc., in an e-mail.

Told that the states do not have CCS's detailed private funding information nor, in most cases, total overall budgets for the projects, Hill did not respond to further requests delivered via telephone messages and e-mails.

But some information, albeit incomplete and nonspecific, is available through other states' Climate Action group documents, and also through the private foundations themselves. Among those involved:

* The Rockefeller Brothers Fund in 2005 granted CCS \$255,000 — \$100,000 of which went to its North Carolina CAPAG work, and also to projects in



The state justified creating the Climate Action Plan Advisory Group through language in the 2002 Clean Smokestacks Act.

Minnesota and New Mexico

* The Surdna Foundation in 2005 gave CCS \$60,000 for its Arizona and New Mexico projects, apparently in addition to its recent \$30,000 for North Carolina

* The Marisla Foundation contributed \$20,000 for North Carolina, and unidentified amounts for Minnesota and New Mexico

* The Energy Foundation, according

to state documents, helped fund projects in Minnesota and New Mexico

* The Compton Foundation gave CCS \$26,000 in 2005 for its Arizona and New Mexico projects

* The John Merck Fund contributed \$45,000 to CCS for its work in Vermont

* The Merck Family Fund granted CCS \$50,000 last year for its Vermont and South Carolina projects

* The WestWind Foundation granted \$30,000 in 2006 for CCS's work in Virginia and in the Southeast

CCS's template

The process for CCS is nearly identical in every state it works with. The climate-action advisory groups, facilitated by CCS-hired personnel, produce the same series of documents, as the result of a similar series of meetings, usually six of them, of the climate group, as well as subgroups.

In nearly all cases (North Carolina being one exception), the process is initiated by a governor's executive order. The governor then appoints, usually, 25 to 35 members to the study group, while CCS compiles a draft greenhouse-gas-emissions "inventory" for that state. The inventory is imprecise, however, since there is no way to exactly measure total carbon-dioxide emissions.

In addition to the establishment of the overall climate-action advisory group, five "technical Work groups" associated with various sectors of the economy are created, usually broken into the following categories: agriculture and forestry; energy supply; residential, commercial and industrial; transportation and land use; and cross-cutting.

CCS determines the range of policies that are considered by introducing

its own list of carbon-dioxide mitigation options, each designed to reduce emissions to some degree, most of which have been considered or implemented in other states. Options are considered by the appropriate technical work groups, which forward approved options to the overall climate-advisory group for final consideration.

CCS produces all meeting summaries, agendas, PowerPoint presentations, and all other related documents, including a final report that goes to elected officials.

CCS also posts documents to, and manages, the Web sites for most of the states with whom they work. They do so using an Internet service called Resource Saver, owned by the nonprofit Global Environment and Technology Foundation, which says it "promotes the use of innovative technology to achieve sustainable development."

CCS-hired personnel moderate most meetings, and they also provide all technical and analytical information about each carbon-dioxide-mitigation option. Their analysis does not include an assessment of the extent to which the policies that they have presented will affect the climate.

CAPAG was not created to study the science of global warming, said Tom Mather, public information officer for the N.C. Division of Air Quality. Instead the group was tasked with "develop[ing] recommendations for specific actions to help reduce or prevent climate change," to be delivered to the Legislative Commission on Global Climate Change.

Inevitably questions come from CAPAG members, however, Peterson said. He said when they do, CCS analysts refer them to information about global-warming science produced by the United Nations' Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, and by the National Academy of Sciences.

"We don't dispute their findings," Peterson said. "We don't take a position on them."

But despite the weight of the organizations behind the reports provided to CAPAG by CCS, consensus is nonexistent on the threats, and actions needed to be taken, in response to global warming.

"Although no cause for alarm rests on this issue, there has been an intense effort to claim that the theoretically expected contribution from additional [human] carbon dioxide has actually been detected," said Richard Lindzen, professor of atmospheric science at MIT, in a July 2, 2006 Wall Street Journal editorial.

"Given that we do not understand the natural internal variability of climate change, this task is currently impossible. Nevertheless there has been a persistent effort to suggest otherwise, and with surprising impact."

Continued as "CO2," Page 5

JLF Report: N.C. Property Rights Weakest in Nation

By CJ STAFF

The N.C. Constitution has the nation's weakest property rights protection, even after state lawmakers addressed the topic in 2006, according to a new John Locke Foundation policy report.

In 2005, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Kelo v. City of New London* held that the government could seize private property for economic development. The JLF report makes the case for a constitutional amendment to protect against these types of takings and other eminent-domain abuses. Eminent domain is the government's power to seize private property without the consent of owners.

"Last year, the North Carolina legislature failed at its chance to enact meaningful eminent domain reform," said report author Daren Bakst, JLF legal and regulatory policy analyst. "While

other states are taking real steps to protect their citizens' property rights, this legislature seems more interested in protecting government interests."

Two of North Carolina's neighbors, Georgia and South Carolina, already have amended their constitutions to boost property rights protections.

A total of seven states amended their constitutions last year. "Voters overwhelmingly supported the eminent domain amendments," Bakst said.

The N.C. General Assembly approved legislation in 2006 to address property rights protection. "The changes

"Last year, the North Carolina legislature failed at its chance to enact meaningful eminent domain reform."

Daren Bakst
JLF Analyst

made so far can only be described as baby steps in the right direction," Bakst said.

A special legislative committee, the House Committee on Eminent Domain Powers, issued an interim report identifying several issues it would address after the

session. "For no apparent reason, this committee never met again even though most of the issues it was concerned about were not addressed by the legislature," Bakst said.

State legislation is all that stands between North Carolinians and the government's ability to take their private property for economic development

or any other reason, Bakst said. "Since legislation can be changed at the whim of political interests, this is far from adequate protection."

"Quite simply, any legislator that opposes a constitutional amendment to protect against eminent domain abuse is being disingenuous, at best," Bakst said. "If legislation were a proper means for the protection of rights, then the North Carolina Constitution would not need to protect any rights, including freedom of the press or equal protection."

A well-drafted constitutional amendment is critical for property rights protection, Bakst said. The amendment should: limit eminent-domain power to property takings involving a proper "public use"; protect against misuse of laws against "blight"; provide "just" compensation in eminent domain cases; and create a fair process for property owners targeted in eminent domain cases. *CJ*

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Senate Minority Leader Berger cast doubt upon the U.N.'s research.

"The U.N.'s track record for predicting actual temperature increases are usually incorrect by between 45 to 75 percent," he said.

Where does North Carolina stand?

CAPAG held its seventh meeting on July 16. A large menu of options is under consideration. Among them are taxpayer subsidies for biofuels, removal of barriers to "smart growth," tax-funded expansion of mass transit, renewable-energy incentives, carbon-di-

oxide taxes, and taxes and surcharges on electricity bills. Critics argue that many of these programs increase tax burdens, are a drag on the states economy, and have little or no impact on global temperatures.

"If we determine that carbon emissions are truly a threat to the environment, there are more effective options than those proposed by the environmental committee," said State Sen. Robert Pittenger, R-Charlotte, and member of the Legislative Commission on Global Climate Change.

"Nuclear power, for example, creates no carbon emissions and is generally recognized as the cleanest method

of generation for electric power. The legislature and North Carolina's citizens should stop, examine the facts carefully, and remove emotion from this issue before we take steps that may very well have long-term negative consequences for our economy."

CAPAG has already recommended 16 "early consensus" options to the Legislative Commission on Global Climate Change.

It considered 37 other options for possible approval to the legislative panel at a July meeting. The LCGCC is by law required to make a final report on its findings and recommendations to the full General Assembly in April 2008.

CCS's work is complete with Arizona's and New Mexico's climate change advisory groups.

The Arizona Climate Change Advisory Group produced 49 recommendations to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions in the state. "The CCAG strongly recommends early and aggressive implementation of the recommendations and a corresponding set of incentives to promote their early adoption," the advisory group wrote in its final report to elected officials.

New Mexico's Climate Change Advisory Group sent a list of 69 policy recommendations to Gov. Bill Richardson, a Democrat. *CJ*

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BILL KRISTOL (PINEHURST LUNCHEON EVENT)
NOON, OCT. 18, 2007, THE CAROLINA



P.J. O'ROURKE (CHARLOTTE DINNER EVENT)
6:30 P.M. NOV. 16, 2007, WESTIN HOTEL

PHONE 919-828-3876 FOR TICKET INFORMATION

NC Delegation Watch**Reps: Stop Mexico trucks**

In a letter July 2 to President Bush, Third District Rep. Walter Jones and Eighth District Rep. Robin Hayes, both N.C. Republicans, joined 112 House colleagues in urging the president to stop the Department of Transportation's Cross-Border Demonstration Program, a program that allows thousands of Mexico-domiciled commercial trucks on U.S. highways without safeguards to ensure that they comply with Homeland Security and immigration standards and laws.

"The Cross-Border Demonstration Program would give Mexican truck drivers unfettered access to the United States without a demonstrable way to verify their identity, immigration status and length of stay in the United States," the congressmen wrote. "It is also unclear which law enforcement personnel have the responsibility, authority and training to check a Mexican driver's status and enforce compliance with the federal laws once they are in the United States.

"Mr. President, we understand your intention to fully implement the provisions of NAFTA by opening our Southern border to commercial traffic," the letter said. "However, the Administration should not put those interests ahead of our public safety, homeland security, and economic vitality."

Jones challenges on Libby

The following day Jones, in his own letter, responded to the president's commutation of a jail sentence for I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby by calling for the president to pardon two imprisoned former Border Patrol agents: Ignacio Ramos and Jose Alonso Compean. Both are serving time in federal prison for shooting at a drug smuggler who brought 743 pounds of marijuana across the border.

"While you have spared Mr. Libby from serving even one day of his 'excessive' 30-month prison term, agents Ramos and Compean have already served 167 days of their 11 and 12-year prison sentences," Jones wrote. "By attempting to apprehend an illegal alien drug smuggler, these agents were enforcing our laws, not breaking them.... I urge you to correct a true injustice by immediately pardoning these two law enforcement officers." CJ

Americans for Tax Reform**Group: N.C. Taxes Among South's Highest**

By PAUL CHESSER
Associate Editor

RALEIGH

On average, North Carolinians had the 14th-highest amount of tax increases per capita among all states during the past seven years, Americans for Tax Reform says in its recently released annual Cost of Government Day report.

Americans for Tax Reform said North Carolina raised its taxes by \$5.9 billion during that time, the second highest increase among states in the Southeast, behind Tennessee.

The Washington-based taxpayer protection group calculates the price tag for federal, state, and local government to individual taxpayers every year, and ranks the costs per capita for each state. Americans for Tax Reform then computes how many days out of the year it requires for the average taxpayer to pay for his or her share of government spending. The group said this year average Americans finished paying their government tabs July 11, two days more than was required in 2006.

"Right now taxpayers are under attack from Congress," said Grover Norquist, the organization's president, in a press release. "With tax increases on everything from cigarettes to private equity on the table, this year's Cost of Government Day must spur politicians into action to protect taxpayers and

"Right now taxpayers are under attack from Congress."

Grover Norquist
Americans for Tax Reform

the economic growth achieved under President Bush's tax cuts."

For N.C. taxpayers, Cost of Government Day came earlier than the national average: July 6. That placed it 27th among the 50 states. Alabama and Oklahoma tied for the earliest calendar date, June 22, for their taxpayers to pay off their overall government expenditures. Connecticut by far had the latest date in Americans for Tax Reform's rankings, with a date of Aug. 2.

"The burden in Connecticut is so onerous," the report said, "both because it has very high relative incomes, getting a big hit from the federal income tax, and because it has high state and local taxes."

But the organization also reviewed state tax increases over the past seven years, and found that the average N.C. resident paid \$668 more because of those increases since fiscal 2002. Overall, New Jersey by far had the largest tax increase

during that time period, at \$2,602 per capita.

Among the Cost of Government Day rankings, North Carolina landed the third-latest of states in the Southeast, just ahead of Virginia, July 11, and Florida, July 13.

"Average North Carolina residents must work 187 days out of the year to pay for the cost of government spending and regulations," Norquist said. "That is days later than all of its neighbors besides Virginia. As North Carolina has raised taxes by nearly \$6 billion from FY 2002-2008, taxpayers should contact their legislators and tell them that 187 days worked for government is enough."

In contrast Rob Schofield, of the liberal public policy organization N.C. Policy Watch, wrote in January that the state's tax increases this decade were a relative bargain.

"...During a decade in which North Carolina was forced to grapple with skyrocketing growth in the cost of health care, a massive influx of school age children, an exploding prison population, and repeated federal cost shifts in which Congress dumped responsibility for essential services onto state government, state leaders managed to keep most basic state services alive and kicking for an extra 300 bucks per person — or about 82 cents a day," he wrote for the group's Web site. CJ

Did S.C. Get a Better Google Deal Than N.C.?

By PAUL CHESSER
Associate Editor

RALEIGH

Web search engine company Google said in April that it would build a \$600-million data center near Charleston, S.C., which would represent a similar investment to one announced earlier this year in Lenoir, N.C., in Caldwell County.

Little information was immediately available about the details of tax breaks offered by South Carolina and by local government officials there. A Google official said the company's deals with the two states were "not an apples-to-apples comparison."

Economic development officials for North Carolina, Lenoir, and Caldwell County have been criticized by some for giving away too much in tax revenues to persuade Google to build a data center — also called a server "farm," because it is a large facility containing banks of computers that operate its Internet business — in the western part of the state.

Incentives granted by both states include job development investment grants, which rebate a percentage of withholding taxes per new job created. Both North Carolina and South Carolina

estimate that Google could reap about \$4.8 million in those tax breaks from each state if it reaches its targets of about 200 new jobs at each facility.

Also, both states exempt taxes on electricity and investments in equipment and machinery. The S.C. Department of Commerce Web site did not indicate any other state incentives made available to Google. The company will pay sales tax on construction materials; an estimated \$7 million for each project in each state.

The difference between the states may be in local government tax breaks. Caldwell County and the City of Lenoir will give back 100 percent of Google's property taxes, and 80 percent of its real estate taxes, for a period of 30 years.

But according to the S.C. Department of Commerce, Berkeley County will receive an estimated \$1.96 million in property taxes annually. Its press release said, "This revenue is the equivalent of the property tax collected annually from 1,000 homeowners with homes valued at \$200,000."

Don Hobart, legal counsel for the N.C. Department of Commerce, said South Carolina "extend[ed] a major property tax incentive" to Google

through its "Super FILOT" (fee in lieu of property taxes) program.

Some news reports about the negotiations for the Lenoir data center portrayed a direct, one-on-one competition between North Carolina and South Carolina, which implied one of the states would lose out.

In reality, according to Google officials, 12 locations in seven states are under consideration for similar server facilities.

The company had long been researching the Charleston-area site, a fact known to North Carolina and its local government officials.

"Everyone knew from the beginning that there were multiple projects and multiple potential sites for these projects," Schnitt said. "Is it possible that the Lenoir site could have ended up at Mount Holly [in Berkeley County]? Yes, but then the Mount Holly site would have ended up somewhere else."

Schnitt said some N.C. officials visited the Berkeley County site, "so they were very much aware of what was going on." Hobart confirmed knowledge about the advanced negotiations with South Carolina and also Google's interest in other states. CJ

Schwartz: We're Wasting Resources in Global Warming Scare

Environmental consultant and visiting fellow at the American Enterprise Institute Joel Schwartz recently produced the N.C. Citizen's Guide to Global Warming and participated in the John Locke Foundation's five-city Global Warming Tour from Charlotte to Wilmington.

When the tour reached Raleigh, Schwartz discussed the citizen's guide with Mitch Kokai for Carolina Journal Radio. (Go to <http://www.carolina-journal.com/cjradio/> to find a station near you or to learn about the weekly CJ Radio podcast.)

Kokai: Joel, I'm going to start with a quote right from this new report. It says, "The greatest threat we face from climate change is the danger of rushing into foolish and costly policies driven by ill-founded climate change hysteria." Is this a really big problem?

Schwartz: I think it's a big problem, both in North Carolina, around the U.S., and around the world. The kinds of things that climate activists want us to do would be very costly. That means there'd have to be "wrenching transformation" of our way of life, as Al Gore likes to say. It would mean that we would have to stop using energy in almost all the ways we use energy now — most of the driving, most of the things, the benefits we get from energy.

It also means that people in developing parts of the world wouldn't be able to increase energy use, and that's something that they need to do in order to become, to develop the healthy, safe, and comfortable lives that we enjoy in Europe and the United States and other parts of the world. So I think it's a big problem.

In addition, the kinds of things that people are talking about doing in North Carolina, even if they're implemented worldwide, it wouldn't actually have any effect on temperature 50 or 100 years from now. And so we're talking about all pain and no gain.

Kokai: In the report itself, you rebut about 17 different claims that are made by people who are on the alarmist end of the global warming debate. We're not going to have time to go through all 17, but I do want to hit some, especially those that have particular interest for North Carolina.

North Carolina has dealt quite a bit with hurricanes in the past, and there are several of these claims that deal with hurricanes and the impact of global warming on hurricanes. What do we know about the impact of global warming or climate change on hurricanes in terms of danger, frequency, or anything else?

Schwartz: Well, in terms of climate change, the theory is that with greenhouse gases, if it causes warm-

ing, it causes the oceans to warm, and those warmer sea surface temperatures increase hurricane intensity and frequency. But another thing that climate models predict for greenhouse warming is that the climate changes in other ways that actually offset the effect of sea surface temperatures, and that effect from greenhouse warming really shouldn't—should be kind of a wash.

The irony is that just a couple weeks ago the journal *Nature* published a paper that looked at hurricane frequency and intensity going back three centuries in the Atlantic and concluded that it was actually the quiescent period during the 1970s and '80s that was unusual, and the current increased hurricane activity in the Atlantic over the last 10 years is typical of the long-term norm.

And also if you look worldwide, even though we've seen an increase in hurricane intensity and frequency in the Atlantic in the last 10 years, worldwide there's actually been no overall change, and in fact hurricanes are actually decreasing in some parts of the world. So probably there's really no effect.

Kokai: There is another piece in your report that deals with the issue of the coasts, and there are some who contend that greenhouse warming is going to flood the Outer Banks and wipe out some of the state's coastal areas. You point out that there's no evidence that would point to that happening.

Schwartz: Well, sea level is rising, but sea level has been rising for more than 100 years. In fact, it's been rising since the end of the last ice age thousands of years ago. We have good data going back more than 100 years on sea level rising in many places of the world, and the sea level was rising before we had emitted many greenhouse gases, even back in the early 1900s.

We've emitted about 95 percent of our greenhouse gases since the 1920s, and yet sea level was rising before that, and in fact the rate of sea level rise has been declining during the 20th century, even as greenhouse warming has supposedly increased.

So those two things don't wash, this claim that we're going to have—that we're having dangerous sea level rise, and that it's being caused by global warming.

Kokai: So as people go through



Joel Schwartz (above) spoke at several John Locke Foundation events in June.

your report and see some of the claims, some of the real evidence, is there a pattern that they'll see about the ways in which the evidence that's put forward by alarmists is not quite right?

Schwartz: Yeah, I think there are a number of ways. One of them is hurricanes. You never hear about the other side of the issue on hurricanes, the fact that they're not increas-

ing, that greenhouse warming actually should act in ways that would reduce the intensity of hurricanes and so on. But there are a number of other things that people probably aren't aware of.

One is that just about every week there is a paper published in one of the major research journals that is inconsistent with — or even directly contradicts — claims based on greenhouse warming. So the pattern of warming around the Earth is not consistent with the warming being due to carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gas emissions. There is research suggesting that other factors, including human factors like soot emissions, could be a major factor, natural factors like the sun.

Other research shows that climate models do a lousy job of predicting real world climate, which suggests that the things that they're telling us about the future probably aren't right. Even if the model matches some trends from the past, they do such a poor job on others that maybe they're matching those trends for the wrong reasons and there are offsetting errors in the models.

And so, there are lots of reasons to believe that the supposed consensus that climate change is due to greenhouse gases and is going to be disastrous is wrong, and that we could go headlong into these policies that would be very costly and won't do us any good, and of course would take away our resources from other things that are important to us.

Kokai: One of the things you point out is that you're not saying that there is no warming. You're also not saying that there is no impact from man. But if there is some sort of warming, if there is some sort of danger, we could and should do different things than having increased taxes or regulations that will limit our options in the future.

Schwartz: Yeah, I think that the danger is overblown. And I think also that the attribution of the warming to

greenhouse gases, almost solely to greenhouse gases, is probably incorrect.

But also, the kinds of things that environmentalists and Al Gore are trying to get us to do are among the most costly policies that you could possibly implement. And so if you want to solve the problem, you want to solve it in the cheapest way possible.

So one of the things that some scientists are actually even researching is something called geo-engineering, where you try to offset any warming effects — whatever is causing the warming. So even if it's not greenhouse gases, even if it's human activities other than greenhouse gases, if it's natural factors, one thing you could do would be to spray, essentially, glitter above the poles.

This is something that volcanoes already do every once in awhile, and it does cool the earth. It's something that would probably be a lot less expensive than the vast reductions in energy that would be required to reduce carbon dioxide. It would work to reduce temperature regardless of what's causing the warming.

So that it makes more robust than greenhouse gas reductions. It wouldn't require these wrenching transformations in our way of life. It wouldn't prevent people in developing countries from getting a higher standard of living and greater safety and longer lifespans and greater health.

So that has potentially a lot of advantages over reducing greenhouse gases, but of course this all assumes that the amount of warming is going to be large and that it's going to cause awful dangers like floods and hurricanes, and I don't think there's evidence that that's going to happen any way.

Kokai: There will be some people in the audience who will say, "OK. If global warming is a danger, we should do something now." Are they right? And if so, what should we do?

Schwartz: Well, first of all you can string together a whole bunch of improbable events in a whole bunch of different directions, not just climate change, and imagine all these different disasters that could befall you, and if you say, "Well, let's throw all of our resources into dealing with all these improbable events, you're not going to have much left to deal with real dangers."

And so blowing global warming out of proportion means that you are wasting your money, you're wasting your effort on things that aren't going to do you any good, and that just means that you're going to make yourself worse off.

So just because environmentalists cook up these scares doesn't mean that we have to totally change our way of life without getting any benefit in return. CJ

State School Briefs

Mecklenburg bond effort

Co-chairs Eulada Watt, Lu-Ann Tucker, and Bolyn McClung launched Mecklenburg County's bond campaign July 13 at the renovated Dilworth Elementary School, *The Charlotte Observer* reports.

A controversial \$516 million bond proposal for Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools will be the centerpiece of their effort. They will also urge voters to approve \$30 million for Central Piedmont Community College and \$35.6 million to buy land.

The trio said they don't yet have a budget or strategies to avoid a repeat of the 2005 school bond defeat. The campaign faces a dual challenge: making the case for bonds and persuading supporters to vote in an off-year election with no national or statewide races.

In 2005, the three co-chairs represented the full spectrum. Watt voted yes on school bonds. McClung, like 56 percent of people who turned out that year, voted no. And Tucker, like about 80 percent of Mecklenburg's registered voters, stayed home. State election records show she missed three of the past five school bond votes.

She and county commissioners Chairman Jennifer Roberts said that makes her representative of the people this campaign must reach. Roberts worked with county, school, and business leaders to recruit the co-chairs.

Wake taps rainy-day fund

The Wake County school board raided its rainy-day fund July 17 to balance its budget while restoring local pay raises for bus drivers, cafeteria workers, and other support staff, *The News & Observer* of Raleigh reports.

The school district was faced with a \$5 million shortfall after getting less money than it had requested from county commissioners. After several hours of lengthy negotiations and compromises, the board agreed to tap into its rainy-day fund for \$2.9 million, far more than had been recommended by administrators, to save support staff raises.

"It may not be that much more money for them, but it's important that we at least give them something more," said board member Carol Parker. Because of record growth, as many as 8,000 new students this fall, the school district had asked county commissioners for a \$29.9 million increase. CJ

After 10 Years, Charters Fight to Grow

By JIM STEGALL
Contributing Editor

RALEIGH

Ten years after North Carolina's first charter schools opened their doors the innovative schools of choice are still struggling for acceptance and understanding in the halls of power. Frustrated charter school supporters report little progress this year on their key legislative initiatives, while opponents continue to snipe from the sidelines.

It's not that charter school advocates aren't trying. At least seven bills were filed in the General Assembly this session to increase the number of charter schools or to secure more equitable funding for them. But only two got so much as a hearing in a legislative committee. One of those would mandate the closure of charter schools whose students consistently scored low on state-mandated tests, and the other would establish a legislative commission to study whether charter schools were working as intended. As of press time, neither bill had been voted on by either house.

The top priority of most charter supporters is to raise or eliminate the cap of 100 charter schools currently in force. The cap was imposed by the initial charter school law as part of a compromise, which made the legislation more palatable to charter skeptics.

Sen. Eddie Goodall, R-Union, was one of the legislators who filed a bill earlier this session to eliminate the cap. He said he is not surprised that the Senate leadership has sat on the bill.

"The Democrats have locked down public education policy in this state," he said in a telephone interview. "They have no vision for meaningful education reform." He predicted that nothing would change "as long as the same vested interests run the legislature."

Charter school opponents found ammunition in a recent study by the N.C. Center for Public Policy Research that concluded charter schools must improve in four areas before the state should consider raising or eliminating the cap. According to the center's study, North Carolina's charter schools exhibit low academic performance relative to their regular public school counterparts, lack racial and ethnic balance, do not transfer innovations to regular public schools, and are sometimes poorly managed, especially in financial matters.

The center based its claim of poor academic performance on an analysis of charter schools, ratings in the states, ABCs accountability program, which establishes seven categories of schools based on how well students perform on standardized tests. According to the study, 53 percent of charter schools were in the bottom three categories of academic achievement, while 48.1 percent of regular public schools rated

"The Democrats have locked down public education policy in this state. They have no vision for meaningful education reform."

Sen. Eddie Goodall
R-Union County

so low. The study also pointed out that the graduation rate for students in the 19 charter high schools was 55.3 percent, compared to 68.9 percent for students in regular public schools.

Responding to the study's findings at a press conference called by Republican legislative leaders, Terry Stoops, education policy analyst of the John Locke Foundation, downplayed the differences. Referring to a handful of charter schools that just missed the cutoff for making adequate yearly progress, he said, "Slightly higher performance by only five charter schools would have resulted in charters outperforming the regular public schools."

Other charter advocates have explained the difference in graduation rates by pointing out that six of the 19 charter high schools (including the five with the lowest graduation rates) are "alternative" schools, meaning that they focus their attention on students who are most at risk of failure.

To qualify as an alternative charter school, at least 75 percent of the student body must have a history of truancy, behavioral problems, involvement with the juvenile justice system, or have been

suspended or expelled from a traditional school. Without these six schools in the mix, the graduation rate for charter high schools rises to 63 percent.

To sort out the conflicting claims, the State Board of Education has convened a commission composed of legislators, educators, and civic leaders. Headed by Dr. Michael Fedewa, superintendent of formation and education for the Diocese of Raleigh, the commission is to conduct a comprehensive study of North Carolina's charter school program and make recommendations for changes in law or policy, including possible changes to the cap law.

As a former chairman of the first Charter School Advisory Board, Fedewa recalls that "we were truly building the plane while we were flying it," especially when it came to establishing policies for approving charter applications. As a result, he said, some charter applications were approved that probably shouldn't have been.

He also noted that although the state has revoked a number of charters for various reasons, it has never done so because of poor academic performance. Some charter school supporters point out that the combination of keeping a cap of 100 schools in place while allowing chronically under-performing schools to continue operations drags down the statistical performance of charter schools overall.

In its meeting in July, the commission briefly discussed the issue of racial balance in charter schools. Joel Mattley, a consultant in the Office of Charter Schools, presented data showing that statewide, white students and black students are slightly over-represented in charter schools, with Hispanics and Asians are slightly under-represented. CJ

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Families Choosing Non-Public Schools Save Taxpayers Money

By HAL YOUNG
Contributing Editor

North Carolina's Constitution guarantees "a general and uniform system of free public schools" for "every child of appropriate age and sufficient mental and physical ability." Fulfilling that promise for 1.4 million students cost taxpayers \$10.3 billion for the 2005-2006 school year, plus \$1.16 billion for capital expenses. Public education costs 39 cents of every dollar paid to the state, making it the largest single category of state expenditure.

As large as that is — the entire state budget for fiscal 2005-2006 was \$17.2 billion — it could have been larger. According to one measure, parents who send their children to non-public schools or teach them at home are saving their fellow taxpayers more than \$1 billion every year.

Exactly how much?

Figures like this were brought to light by former Secretary of Administration Gwynn Swinson in 2005, when she told a legislative committee meeting that private and home education was saving the state and local budgets about \$980 million in education expenses every year.

Rod Helder, director of the state's Division of Non-Public Education, said that number is much higher now. In 2004-2005, there were nearly 150,000 students in private and home schools, he said. The public school system spent an average of \$7,328 per student that year.

"When you multiply those 149,864 students [in non-public education] by \$7,328 each, the expenditure savings in FY04-05 to the State of North Carolina was \$1,098,203,392," he said. "You see how much money the public schools did not have to spend."

Another alternative is to assume the schools' financial pie will stay the same size regardless of enrollment changes. Dr. Brian Ray of the National Home Education Research Institute and Nick Weller of the Cascade Policy Institute, writing in *School Business Affairs*, found that adding home-educated students into a static budget equation in Oregon would only change per-pupil



Rod Helder, director of the N.C. Division of Non-Public Education. (CJ photo by Hal Young)

spending about \$149 per student in 2002. North Carolina has a higher percentage of home-schooled students, but the figure would still be less than \$300 for the same scenario here.

Some economists have said this kind of calculation is too simplistic because it doesn't analyze the remaining capacity of school facilities, differences in per-pupil expenditure from one county to the next, and other variables. When opponents suggested home schooling actually took money away from the school system in Nevada, a home-schooling organization funded a more detailed study for the state.

"It was a matter of incremental costs," said Frank Schnorbus, president of the Nevada Home-school Network. In 2003, he told the state's school funding guru that "if we really cost them money, we all needed to know how much." State officials were uninterested in a proposed study, though, so NHN contracted Nevada Policy Research Institute to research the question.

The institute found that adding one student to the schools actually cost more than the average per-pupil expenditure, so keeping that child in private education saved a larger-than-expected cost. In a rapidly expanding school system, such

Continued as "Families," Page 11

Commentary

It's Time To Remove the Cap

Dueling research reports the past two months have reignited smoldering debate over the merits of raising North Carolina's cap on charter schools. On May 2, the John Locke Foundation published a 10-year review of the state's charter school movement, arguing for removal of the 100-school cap. On June 6, the N.C. Center for Public Policy Research released a report cautioning lawmakers against raising the cap, suggesting charter schools must first improve their performance.

Who's right? In my view, it's time to remove the cap. Obviously, like any 10-year-old, the charter school movement has experienced growing pains. Nevertheless, the schools are providing valuable, tuition-free education options to about 30,000 students in the state. More than 5,200 languish on waiting lists. Public opinion strongly supports charter school growth: A poll July 2006 by the John William Pope Civitas Institute found that 59 percent of North Carolinians favored removing the cap to enhance parental choice and ease the school construction burden on the state.

Critics point to faltering state test scores as a reason to block expansion. Yes, state achievement results are mixed — some charter schools do well, while others do not. But isn't this the case with all public schools? Consider too, that poor-performing charter schools operate at the discretion of the State Board of Education: Unlike struggling district schools, charter schools can have their charter (and with it, their ability to operate) revoked. The State Board of Education might indeed need to step it up and close charter schools that fall behind academically. But the state must first ensure charter revocations are issued based on academic growth, since many students arrive at charter schools below grade level.

It's also worth noting that much of the achievement data on charter schools has been plagued by methodological concerns, giving charter schools an unfair bad rap. Charter school performance evaluations generally fail to disaggregate alternative charter schools from overall data, skewing scores downward. Additionally, statistics comparing charter schools and dis-

trict schools often don't account for charter schools' smaller proportion of academically gifted students.

Overall, though, charter schools are making strides academically. In 2004-05, 61.1 percent of charter schools met federal adequate yearly progress standards, compared to 57.3 percent of traditional public schools.

Opponents of removing the charter school cap also cite racial imbalance as a rationale for restraining growth. There's no question that minority children are over-represented in charter schools. But it's not because they are left there by "white flight" into better schools.

Rather, traditional public schools have consistently failed to close black-white achievement gaps, leading higher percentages of black families to opt out of the system. It's no wonder: A 2006 report by the Schott Foundation for Public Education shows an alarmingly low graduation rate of 47 percent for black males in North Carolina.

Critics suggest management problems or poor financial oversight should force foreclosure of the charter school movement. These are legitimate concerns, yet the nature of a charter, or "contract," ensures that schools with rampant financial or management difficulties will eventually be forced to close. Since the law's passage in 1996, 39 charters have been given to schools that no longer operate. Nine had their charters revoked, 11 never opened, and two had charters that were not renewed. The rest relinquished their charters voluntarily, because of difficulties with facilities, or because they failed to put together programs that appealed to parents and students.

That is as it should be. Charter schools that can't get it together — academically, administratively, or financially — shouldn't stay open. But their problems shouldn't define or impede the growth of an otherwise successful education movement. In the end, the presence of thousands of schoolchildren on charter school waiting lists speaks volumes about the need for more of these schools. Isn't it time we listened?

CJ

Lindalyn Kakadelis is director of the North Carolina Education Alliance.



Lindalyn
Kakadelis

School Reform Notes**Math, science charter school**

Computer and electrical engineering professors. An elementary school teacher. An RFMD design engineer. A businesswoman for a pharmaceutical company.

They want to create a school for children that focuses on scientific careers, the *News-Record* of Greensboro reported.

All they need is state approval, then the Triad Math and Science Academy could go from a 308-page proposal to Guilford County's fourth charter school in 2008-09.

The school is one of three vying for two open charter spots. The State Board of Education likely will decide in September. It would cost about \$1.7 million, a combination of state and local money, to run the school the first year.

"I think we are bringing a unique innovation," said Ali Tombak, a design engineer with RFMD and president of the Triad Math and Science Academy's board.

A focus on math and science is something America needs, Tombak said. He cited studies, such as the 2000 report by the National Commission on Mathematics and Science Teaching for the 21st Century, that show American students falling behind their global peers.

Christian sports academy

Organizers of a proposed Christian-based sports academy for Kernersville say that it could be the first step toward creating a network of private high schools stretching across the country, the *Winston-Salem Journal* reports.

Plans for Veritas Sports Academy were filed in Kernersville July 16.

Organizers said they would like to see the school open in the fall of 2008 and enroll 125 to 140 students. First, organizers must pass a review by the Kernersville planning board and meet fund-raising goals.

The school's president and founder, Gary Newell, lives in Kernersville. He is a motivational speaker and the founder of Outreach America, an organization that runs sports camps and other activities with a Bible-based focus.

"I see so many kids that are 13 and 14 and I think they would have had a chance," Newell said. "Either bad associations or drugs or whatever takes these kids out. I have seen so many kids whose lives were destroyed and I thought, 'Wow, could I have made a difference?' Finally I said if I don't ever go for it I will never know." CJ

Parents want more choices**Garner Schools: Choice For Some, Not All**

By KAREN McMAHAN
Contributing Editor

RALEIGH

For years, Garner families have resolved their problems over school reassignment by quietly opting out — choosing private or home schooling or moving out of Garner and Wake County.

Before Superior Court Judge Howard Manning's ruling in May that the school system cannot legally assign students to year-round schools without parental consent, more than 3,500 families had opted out of Garner schools over more than a five-year period. Since the ruling, hundreds more have opted out.

Excellence and fairness

The primary issue is not traditional versus year-round calendars but rather academic excellence and fairness for all students. Garner residents want to know why their schools have unfairly shouldered the burden for the county's free-and-reduced (F&R) lunch students.

Carol Sims, a Garner real estate agent, said the school board is not busing to make the schools better. "F&R plus F&R equals higher F&R," Sims said. For example, Garner High School until the recent reassignment had 70 percent free-and-reduced lunch students and has consistently been one of the lowest performing schools in Wake County. It's on the state's turnaround list for failing to meet academic standards.

Amy White, a former member of the Wake County School Board who represented the Garner district, said that parents "want to know that my child, like any other child in any other school in the county, has an equal opportunity for an excellent education." Parents want more magnet schools and more choices.

The lottery for magnet schools is not truly random, as Andy Lancaster, a former Garner resident, discovered several years when he petitioned to get his daughter into Timber Drive Elementary, a Garner magnet school. His daughter had been assigned to Aversboro Elementary, but he and his wife wanted the year-round calendar and magnet program offered at Timber Drive. The application criteria made it apparent that the state was, "in essence, punishing success," Lancaster said, meaning that families from higher socioeconomic status stood little chance of getting a seat over lower socioeconomic families. Thus, he said, it was "not a true lottery as advertised."

Lancaster spent nearly two months, visiting the school and making daily phone calls to school officials before his daughter was finally accepted. Sims said some parents are afraid to show up and complain, so they either put up or opt out. Lancaster asked, "What



Many Garner parents want to know why Wake County Public Schools assigns so many free-and-reduced lunch students to their schools. (CJ photo)

happens to parents who don't have the time or resources to keep after school officials? I have the ability to choose; others do not."

Both Sims and White wondered why the enrollment at magnet schools in other parts of the county, primarily Broughton and the beltline districts, are protected.

"Why are some kids treated better?" White speculated it has to do with votes. Lancaster agreed, saying that the districts need to be redrawn so all school board members are "answerable to the county as a whole, not just a district." Otherwise, the beltline districts have the largest population and thus the greater voice, Lancaster said.

With Susan Perry and Carol Parker saying they would not seek re-election to the school board, Garner residents were hoping for a better chance to resolve Garner's issues. However, after learning that Ann McLaurin, wife of Raleigh Mayor Charles Meeker, is running for Perry's seat, many expressed concern about a possible conflict of interest.

Reflecting diversity

Garner is a diverse community and the residents want their schools to better reflect that diversity. Despite the school board's insistence that its decisions are not based on race, their actions appear contradictory. White said she and other residents had spent countless hours creating maps for Garner schools that both achieved racial balance and reduced free-and-reduced lunch percentages to far less than 30 percent. But until the Wake Cares lawsuit, the school board paid no attention. Over the past few months, Garner residents have stepped up efforts to bring public attention to their issues, having learned that being diplomatic and cooperative does not achieve results.

Schools play a major role in a family's decision about where to live. With school scores now accessible on the Internet, White said many families

are choosing to move to other parts of Wake County or to other counties to ensure quality education for their children. She and Sims cited instances where families moved to a community precisely because of its schools, only to have their children reassigned and bused miles away to another school with disproportionately numbers of free-and-reduced lunch students and low test scores. In one case, a family opted out and chose to drive their child 15 miles away to another school because of its academic excellence. Both Sims and White think that Garner schools are unfairly perceived as low quality because the high numbers of free-and-reduced lunch students skew the scores.

Inequity in school construction

The current debate over a proposed new high school in Garner underscores the problem. As Sims pointed out, "More than 2,500 homes have been built in southeast Raleigh during the last five years compared to only 700 in Garner, and another 2,500 homes are projected for Raleigh. So why have no new schools been built in southeast Raleigh?" Many higher-end homes south of Garner have families with no children.

The school board has allocated only land in Garner, and the board continues to bus kids, mostly low-income, to Garner schools. Garner residents want community schools, not county schools.

When asked about the school board's assertion that they cannot find suitable or large enough parcels, White disagreed, saying the real problem is the school board's unwillingness to pay landowners a fair price. "Why aren't they willing to pay those owners what they'd pay for land in Holly Springs and other parts of the county?"

On July 9, school board officials defended their choice of school sites to Wake County commissioners, with Garner Mayor Ronnie Williams once again voicing strong opposition. CJ

Families Choosing Non-Public Schools Save Tax Money

Continued from Page 9

as North Carolina's, taking one student out doesn't diminish school funding but only slows its growth rate. It actually increases the money available for the students that remained.

Schnorbus and his organization distributed copies of the institute report to legislators and state officials in 2005 and again this year. "I haven't heard that argument any more," he said. "Not once."

"The notion that home-school children somehow 'cost' the public schools turns reality on its head," the study said. "In truth, the situation could be more accurately characterized as one in which Nevada's public education establishment profits from unwarranted taxes on parents who choose to exercise their parental rights."

Cost of not costing taxpayers

Although they spend less than the state would, families with children in nonpublic education still face significant tuition, fees, and expenses. Home schoolers typically pay \$500 to \$600 per year for books and materials, according to several studies. Dr. Joe Haas of the N.C. Christian Schools Association said that their member schools range from \$2,750 to \$3,500 per year per child, which is less than the national average, according to the federal Department of Education.

"There's a higher reason than money for operating a Christian school," Haas said. "A great percentage of our students are in our schools because their parents believe it is their responsibility to see to the training of their children. In our segment, there is more of a ministry



The state's Division of Non-Public Education, located in the Administration Building on West Jones Street in Raleigh, says private and home education save North Carolina taxpayers nearly a billion dollars a year. (CJ photo)

orientation, as an outreach of the local church."

While state law provides a genial environment for operating nonpublic schools, the state does little more to encourage the choice. "It is important

to remember that if home-school students enroll in public schools, they do not generate any additional tax revenue for government because their families already pay taxes that fund education..." wrote Ray and Weller. Bills that would

provide tax relief have been introduced in both houses of the General Assembly, but stalled in committee the past two sessions.

Ernie Hodges, president of North Carolinians for Home Education, is concerned that any bill might introduce regulations that would discourage families from considering home schooling, and reduce the expected savings, too.

"Attempts to control home schooling which detract from its desirability will also have a negative impact on its fiscal benefit to the taxpayers of North Carolina," Hodges said. "[But] with the hundreds of millions of dollars that home schooling saves the state, it should be seen as a financial blessing."

Haas was likewise cautious, saying his organization would support the idea "in a broad terms, but we'd have to see specifics; you can't just give a blanket response." He said that funds or credits should go to parents, not institutions; this avoids problems with state support for private and religious institutions.

The bottom line

Enrollment in traditional private and religious schools grew to almost 95,000 this year, Helder said. This year's tally of home-schooled students will be released in August, but the number of home-schooled students in 2006 was estimated at 64,387, and it typically grows by 8 percent to 12 percent each year.

At the end of 2005-2006, nearly 160,000 students, more than 10 percent of the state's student population, was receiving a nonpublic education. Whether that represents a saving of \$1.1 billion or some other amount, these families are markedly reducing the cost of "free public schools" for everyone else. CJ

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www.JohnLocke.org

Campus Briefs

Many N.C. universities require summer reading for freshmen. Here are the titles used this year:

- Appalachian State: *A Home on the Field* by Paul Cuadros. A story of perseverance and success by the Mexican high school soccer players of Siler City.

- Duke University: *The Best of Enemies* by Osha Gray Davidson. A portrait of race relations in Durham, told through a story of friendship between a black activist and an ex-Klansman.

- Elizabeth City State University: *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* by Harriet Jacobs. A personal narrative by an N.C. slave who suffered at the hands of a ruthless owner.

- Elon University: *An Inconvenient Truth* by Al Gore. A collection of pictures and catch phrases based on Gore's multimedia presentations on global warming.

- North Carolina State University: *Colors of the Mountain* by Da Chen. An autobiographical story of the hardships of life in China under communism during Mao's Cultural Revolution.

- UNC-Chapel Hill: *The Death of Innocents* by Sister Helen Prejean. An argument on the ways in which the criminal justice system might be killing innocent people.

- UNC-Charlotte: *Three Cups of Tea* by Greg Mortenson. An autobiographical story of Mortenson's failed attempt to climb Mt. Everest, seven weeks of recovery in a small Pakistani village, and his return to build a school for the village children.

- UNC-Greensboro: *Choice of Farewell, I'm Bound to Leave You* by Fred Chappell, *Mountains Beyond Mountains* by Tracy Kidder, *Persepolis* by Marjane Satrapi, *Teach Like Your Hair's On Fire* by Rafe Esquith, *Cradle-to-Cradle: Remaking the Way We Make Things* by William McDonough and Michael Braungart, and *Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight: An African Childhood* by Alexandra Fuller.

- Western Carolina University: *The World Made Straight* by Ron Rash. High school dropout Travis Shelton stumbles on a neighbor's crop of marijuana while fishing in rural North Carolina.

- Wake Forest University: *Reading Lolita in Tehran* by Azar Nafisi. A blend of memoir and literary criticism about the power of art and its ability to improve people's lives.

For an analysis of the summer reading selections see "Higher Education Issues" on Page 15. CJ

Opinion

Do Sports and Community Colleges Mix?

Community colleges are supposed to be an educational stepping stone for people who didn't make much of their K-12 years or find that they need to learn a new skill if they are to find a new job. The idea that those schools would become more effective in their role by adding organized sports programs seems strange. Quite a few of them are doing so, however.

Are community colleges and sports programs a sensible mix?

A recent article in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* ("To Increase Enrollment, Community Colleges Add More Sports," July 6, 2007) focuses on Guilford Technical Community College in Jamestown, N.C. The school's president, Donald W. Cameron, recently created a baseball team at Guilford Tech and joined the National Junior College Athletic Association. Since 2003, according to the article, more than 40 other community colleges have joined the NJCAA, which has 16 members in North Carolina.

Cameron sees the sports program as a benefit for the school as a whole, saying that "Athletics is just one more way of offering extracurricular opportunities that make a whole student." Furthermore, he contends, the addition of sports teams has "really turned our student morale around. Our bookstore manager will tell you that he cannot keep our sports paraphernalia in stock."

Another supporter of sports programs is Robert C. Keys, president of Rockingham Community College in Wentworth, N.C. "We live in an athletics-minded world. A lot of people think that if you don't have an athletics program, you're not a real college," Keys said.

Asked whether having competitive athletics doesn't create some headaches, Keys said, "Yes, but so do nursing and chemistry. If that was the only criteria, we wouldn't have many programs."

Some community colleges go so far as to recruit students from around the country and even internationally in order to do well in national championships.

The athletics program at Guilford Tech cost the school \$165,000 this year, and that figure will increase by \$20,000 when the baseball team gets going. Under N.C. law, community colleges are not allowed to spend funds from state appropriations on athletics, so Guilford pays for them out of student fees, bookstore revenues, and donations.

All expenditures, of course, have their "opportunity cost." That is economists' lingo for the best alternative that



George Leef

It's certainly true that athletics are a big part of American life, but it doesn't follow that every school must have competitive teams. There are many smaller colleges and universities that confine their athletics to club sports that interested students can participate in if they wish to. Having softball as a club sport, for example, would be far less costly than an intercollegiate baseball team.

is foregone when you decide to do something. The student fees, bookstore revenues, and donations could be used for other purposes. It isn't clear from the article whether the donations are given specifically for athletics; if not, then the point about opportunity cost applies. Is it really the case that the expenses associated with fielding competitive sports teams (equipment, travel, compensation for coaches, and so on) are the best use of funds? Perhaps, as Cameron contends, having sports teams boosts "student morale," but even if we accept that that's true — and how would we know since morale is not something we can measure — shouldn't the key consideration instead be student academic achievement?

Let's put it this way. If we have to choose between having a baseball team whose successes might make some or perhaps even most of the students feel good for a while and spending more money to improve teaching and learning, which way should we go?

That question seems to answer itself, so the real question would be whether there are ways that community colleges could spend their funds that would improve teaching and learning. The answer is yes.

Hiring more and better faculty members is the most obvious way. At one of the largest community colleges in North Carolina, Wake Tech, courses in economics have had to be canceled because at the very low rate of pay the school can offer to prospective faculty members, it can't attract enough professors. Low compensation for faculty

members is a problem throughout the state's community college system. Putting more resources into hiring capable professors would certainly seem to be a higher priority use of money than fielding sports teams.

It's certainly true that athletics are a big part of American life, but it doesn't follow that every school must have competitive teams. There are many smaller colleges and universities that confine their athletics to club sports that interested students can participate in if they wish to. Having softball as a club sport, for example, would be far less costly than an intercollegiate baseball team.

We should also bear in mind that the nation's largest university, the University of Phoenix, doesn't have any athletics. Students just take courses. That model works fine, efficiently delivering educational main courses without the added cost of side dishes and desserts. Shouldn't community colleges operate basically the same way?

But what about recruiting? Keys said that he began his school's sports program in 1998 in order to appeal to high school students who had played varsity sports and didn't want to attend a college that didn't have similar athletic programs. Perhaps a few students decide whether to enroll in a community college or in some alternative based on sports considerations, but the number is probably very small. More importantly, though, why should N.C. community colleges worry about recruiting? Spending money to attract a few additional students who might go elsewhere if it weren't for the presence of a baseball team doesn't seem to be of any importance for the people of the state.

Finally, there is the problem that having sports programs creates the possibility of misuse of funds, favoritism, and other abuses. In 2006, the N.C. State Auditor's Office found serious deficiencies relating to the baseball team at Blue Ridge Community College. (You can read the report at <http://www.ncauditor.net/epsweb/reports/investigative/inv-2006-0290.pdf>.) The State Auditor's findings led to a resolution of the State Board of Community Colleges censuring the trustees of Blue Ridge Community College for their failure to oversee properly the actions of the school's president.

College sports programs divert resources from educational uses and create avoidable headaches. It would be wise for community college leaders to steer away from them and concentrate on academics. CJ

George C. Leef is vice president for research for the John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy.

CC System's Presidential Search Promotes Discussion of Conflicts

By JANE S. SHAW
Contributing Editor

The N.C. Community College System is choosing a successor to H. Martin Lancaster, its current president, who will step down in May 2008. In a series of meetings, the search committee has solicited public comment about the "qualifications and characteristics" needed by the next president.

The meeting July 11 in Raleigh, led by Norma B. Turnage, vice chairwoman of the committee, was low-key, with only eight commentators. But enough issues surfaced to suggest that the next president will face some troublesome conflicts.

The 58-school system is often called a "stepchild" of North Carolina's public education system because it gets less attention than either K-12 or the University of North Carolina. But it is rapidly growing in importance. Already, about 800,000 students attend per

year, compared with 190,000 in the four-year University of North Carolina system. If UNC adopts a minimum admission standard, as expected, students who aren't qualified for UNC might opt for community colleges, increasing their enrollment.

There also is new interest, reflected in cooperative efforts such as Western Carolina University's "two-step" program, in helping graduates of two-year schools move "seamlessly" to the four-year system. And a new law allows community colleges to provide teacher certification programs for college graduates who want to teach in North Carolina. Until this year, restrictions choked those programs.

Is the community college system ready to teach more students and prepare them for four-year schools? Ann Russell, president of the North Carolina Community College Faculty Association, told the committee that faculty compensation for the system is the lowest in the southeastern region and 44th in the nation. Also, faculty in the 44-year-old system will soon be retiring "in droves." Community colleges have often been able to "make silk purses out of sows' ears," Russell said, but the resources may be running out.

Lack of resources, however, might be a smaller problem than incentives built into the system. John M. Duncan, who has worked at four North Carolina community colleges over 31 years, point-

ed out that the state supports community colleges through a formula that rewards enrollment rather than education success. Getting enrollment numbers up is "the name of the game," said Duncan, a game that leads to "enrollment padding" and even "enrollment fraud." (Duncan is preparing a study of community colleges for the Pope Center for Higher Education policy.)

The goals of the system are broad. Jon Lee Wiggs, author of an authoritative history of North Carolina's community colleges, quoted from early documents stating that the goal of the colleges is to "take the people where they are" and provide them with education. Thus, he considers "remediation and developmental education" a central role for the colleges.

In contrast, Bonita Budd, who teaches at Wake Technical Community College, stressed the importance of educating students from other countries, acquainting American students with the global economy, and easing students' transition to four-year institutions.

The system is diverse, and each college is relatively autonomous, although overseen by the State Board of Community Colleges. Don Hunter, executive director of the N.C. Association of Community College Trustees, expressed hope that the new president would recognize the traditions of the past, while fostering accountability and compliance with the rules.

His comments reflected the fact that accountability might be a problem. In 2006, state Auditor Leslie W. Merritt Jr. reported that only one of the 58 N.C. community colleges has an internal auditor. The college is Central Piedmont, which has two internal auditors.

A few high-profile cases have also raised doubts about fiscal accountability. In 2006, the president of Halifax Community College was dismissed for multiple financial improprieties. Later in the year, the State Board of Community Colleges censured the trustees of Blue Ridge Community College for insufficient oversight, which had led to financial violations in connection with the school's baseball program.

The state board is expected to select a new president by the end of 2007. CJ

Jane S. Shaw is executive vice president of the John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy in Raleigh.

Getting enrollment numbers up is "the name of the game," said [John] Duncan, a game that leads to "enrollment padding" and even "enrollment fraud."

Commentary

Has Title IX Served Its Purpose?

My first job as a writer was to cover sports in West Virginia. The assignments were simple—go to the games, follow the games, report on the games, and occasionally offer commentary and features.

That's easy enough, given my admiration for sports. I've always believed that sports were a great avenue in helping boys and girls to learn about character and to gain self-respect.

Even with my admiration for sports, I have a hard time justifying the continuation of Title IX in its present form. The law, part of the Education Act of 1972, which celebrated its 35th anniversary in June, states simply that programs receiving federal support cannot discriminate on the basis of gender. While not specifically mentioning athletics, Title IX triggered a growth in collegiate athletic opportunities for women.

At the time, Title IX served its purpose. It opened the door for women to enter collegiate athletics, something that might not have occurred. Without Title IX we might not have known about athletes such as Mia Hamm or Ivory Latta.

Do we still need Title IX today?

The Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights uses three tests to assess whether a school is in compliance with Title IX. The proportionality test requires that opportunities for men and women to participate in sports be proportional with student enrollment. The other tests examine a school's history in offering opportunities to men and women and whether it has fully and effectively done all it can to create opportunities. In general, only one of the tests must be met.

Title IX supporters are dissatisfied with the enforcement by the U.S. Department of Education, especially the proportionality test. They also note that much more money is spent on men's athletic programs than on women's athletics programs.

According to the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, in 2005 only 17 schools spent more than \$10 million on women's sports, while 82 spent that much on men's programs.

That statistic is a red herring,

however, because of the high operating costs of college football. For instance, UNC-Charlotte estimates that adding college football would cost \$8.9 million, nearly doubling the school's athletics budget. That includes \$1.6 million to support new women's sports.

Critics of Title IX think that opportunities for women have been added at the expense of opportunities for men. The College Sports Council, a group that advocates for Title IX reform, calls the current system a quota system. Schools must reach certain numbers of women in athletics in order to be in compliance. They claim that was not the intent of the original law.

Efforts to meet the numbers test for women have meant cutting men's sports, they argue. The group has created an interactive map highlighting how proportionality tests have eliminated sports around the country, including men's soccer, men's volleyball, men's swimming, men's gymnastics, and wrestling.

Title IX's premise is one that we can all support. No one should be kept from the halls of academia or the athletic field based on gender. However, changes are clearly needed in enforcement and ultimately in how schools react to compliance tests.

If opportunities for men are being reduced in an effort to maintain Title IX compliance, as they appear to be, then the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights should take a look at how it is enforcing the current statute. Guidelines that lead to a quota system should be replaced with a fairer testing system.

Eliminating Title IX would not end women's sports. The games would still be played, and schools would still create opportunities. Perhaps more opportunities would be created because schools would not be tied to arbitrary guidelines about how athletic departments must look.

CJ

Shannon Blosser manages the Chapel Hill office of the John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy.



Shannon Blosser

Bats in the Belltower

So, What 'Genderfied' You?

The following e-mail was posted on a UNC-Chapel Hill listserv in early July. It is reprinted here verbatim in all its faux-scholarly weirdness, save for identifying the author (someone must be concerned for this person's dignity).

Worth highlighting are the neologisms — "phototherapy," "genderfied," "gender memory," and "gender expression" — and the project's assumptions that "gender is taught" and that it is "an all encompassing and continually changing thing":



Jon Sanders

Hello everyone!
My name is R —, and I am currently working on a phototherapy project, called Gender Lessons, that investigates how gender is taught to children.

I originally started this project in Maria Deguzman's Queer Latino/a Photography and Literature class (which is amazing). Now, I have fallen in love with the investigation and the idea of getting it published one day. So, I need your help to do that.

To participate, I need people to send in their stories where they remember being taught gender. It can be anything: from sex talks to clothes shopping. One person told me that her parents told her a woman's role in sex is to lay there. Gender is an all encompassing and continually changing thing. It's different for every single one of you wholly, but, no doubt, there will be similar cases. If you don't feel like you were ever taught gender, I would ask you to think again. These lessons aren't just from parents. Peer pressure provides it, along with TV ads, music lyrics and so much more.

I need stories from every different type of person, especially people above the age of 21. Just send in your story that "genderfied" you or dissuaded you from picking a certain gender expression—no matter what it is. The possibilities are endless.

If you send your story in, and it is selected, we will stage a reenactment the memory with the aid of actors (if needed). I will photograph the reenactment as it progresses. After you feel the

reenactment has become as true to the past as possible, we still stop and look at the photographs

Memory is tied to images, and these photos will (hopefully) help you clarify forgotten things in the past and create connections from that memory to now. This process doesn't work for everyone, and part of the investigation is seeing when phototherapy does or does not work and why or why not.

Even if you don't want to contribute a gender memory, I need other help. I need people willing to reenact roles in other people's memories. You would get the story from the memory contributor and try to make it as real for that person as possible.

Don't worry if you are not on campus for the summer. This is a project I want to gradually work over the rest of the summer and the upcoming school year.

If you are interested, contact me at []. Also, on Facebook, I have a group for the project called R —'s Photography Project Peeps. In the group, I have photos from the original ten contributors I investigated. Also, if you want to read what I have written so far, let me know.

Thank you for taking the time to read this. I hope everyone is having a wonderful summer!

The originator of the e-mail dreams of getting this work published. No doubt it will be; what would be surprising would be if it didn't also receive an academic grant. It's too bizarre not to. Getting actors to stage someone else's "gender memory" for taking snapshots of "genderfication" as a form of "phototherapy" is precisely the sort of transcendent silliness that 21st century American research universities are renowned for.

The only question is how long till "Snapshots of Genderfication" becomes the topic of a very earnest, self-impressed "Studies" class — which will, by rote, boast of teaching students "critical thinking." CJ

Jon Sanders is research editor for the John Locke Foundation.

North Carolina Colleges Joining World Global-Warming Movement

By PAUL CHESSE

Associate Editor

RALEIGH

The leaders of two N.C. institutions of higher education, the largest and one of the smallest colleges, have joined more than 280 other college and university presidents nationally in support of the American College and University Presidents Climate Commitment, which was launched in June.

UNC-Chapel Hill Chancellor James Moeser and William "Sandy" Pfeiffer, president of Warren Wilson College in Swannanoa, signed the commitment earlier this year.

The official statement of the collaborating institutions says, "We recognize the scientific consensus that global warming is real and is largely being caused by humans" and "we further recognize the need to reduce the global emission of greenhouse gases by 80 percent by mid-century at the latest, in order to avert the worst impacts of global warming and to reestablish the more stable climatic conditions that have made human progress over the last 10,000 years possible."

The signatories to the agreement pledge to develop a "comprehensive plan" for their schools to "achieve climate neutrality as soon as possible." Climate neutrality is the practice of offsetting any greenhouse gas production with actions that reduce greenhouse gases released into the air. The aim is to "neutralize" the organization's effect on global warming.

The commitment calls for member institutions to complete an inventory of all their greenhouse gas emissions within a year and to update the inventory every other year.

The schools also must set target dates and goals for achieving climate neutrality, expand research into that area, and implement mechanisms that measure the progress toward climate neutrality.

In addition, member colleges and universities must employ at least two of the following:

- "Establish a policy that all new campus construction will be built to at least the U.S. Green Building Council's LEED Silver standard or equivalent."
- "Adopt an energy-efficient appliance purchasing policy requiring purchase of ENERGY STAR-certified products in all areas for which such ratings exist."
- "Establish a policy of offsetting all greenhouse gas emissions generated by air travel paid for by each institu-

tion."

• "Encourage use of and provide access to public transportation for all faculty, staff, students and visitors at each institution."

• "Within one year of signing the document, begin purchasing or producing at least 15 percent of the institution's electricity consumption from renewable sources."

• "Establish a policy or a committee that supports climate and sustainability shareholder proposals at companies where each institution's endowment is invested."

The climate commitment was created by three other organizations: ecoAmerica, the Association of Sustainability in Higher Education, and Second Nature. All are environmental activist groups.

According to the climate commitment Web site, there is no financial obligation associated with signing the agreement.

The above-required policies, however, clearly have costs to the institutions. According to ACUPCC, "the costs for achieving climate neutrality will vary greatly depending on the approach the institution chooses to take. Many actions taken to move an institution towards climate neutrality can have attractive returns on investment, which can then be re-invested in further actions towards neutrality, ensuring that the process is financially beneficial in both the short and long term."

Moeser signed on to the effort in January. In his column for *The Chapel Hill Herald* that month he wrote, "our campus, along with colleges and universities throughout the country, must lead efforts to address global climate change through research, education and reduction of greenhouse gas emissions."

Pfeiffer, who joined the agreement in April, wrote in an *Asheville Citizen-Times* column, "I've pledged that our college will take major steps to reduce carbon emissions, and that I'll ask other campus presidents around the nation to sign the accord."

The *Citizen-Times* also looked into other schools' decisions. Stephen Baxley, an associate vice chancellor at UNC-Asheville, told the newspaper last month that the agreement "has some very noble goals that I think we are fully in sync with. But we need to figure out how we would accomplish them.

"My only reservation on it is that it's a very general, open-ended commitment." CJ



Analysis

College Summer Reading Could Be Useful If Handled Better

By GEORGE LEEF
and JENNA ROBINSON

RALEIGH
Many colleges and universities these days have a "summer reading" program for incoming students, which requires them to read a book and be prepared to discuss it during the first few days of class. The programs are designed to create a common ground among new students, challenge them to think critically about new ideas and introduce them to university work and intellectual life at a university.

This is a splendid idea. Done well, such reading programs can help to get college students off to a good start by concentrating their minds on the nature of and reasons for academic study.

Unfortunately, if it is done poorly this becomes at least a missed opportunity. If a school chooses a book that has no timeless message, it will fail to make any lasting impression on the students. If a school selects a book that is faddish or polemical, it is worse than a missed opportunity. It conveys to the students the idea that college is more about what to think than about how to think. Sadly, at some institutions that happens to be the case in many of the courses taught, but still it's best to start freshmen off with a good impression.

The list of books chosen by many N.C. schools can be found in the "Campus Briefs" on Page 12. Many of those books are of dubious value for the purpose of getting incoming freshmen to see what higher education should be about.

Elon's Common Reading program is designed to challenge "students, faculty, and staff to examine themselves and

the local and global worlds they inhabit through reading. The readings and discussions aim not only to encourage critical reflection about important issues but also to invite personal consideration of how our individual actions affect these issues." But the book Elon has chosen, Al Gore's *An Inconvenient Truth*, is nothing but a shallow polemic that even scientists who believe that human activity is responsible for climate change have panned. It's scarcely even a "book" at all, but more of a collection of pictures, graphs, and PowerPoint slides.

Furthermore, Gore's book makes no attempt at objective, scholarly inquiry, failing to acknowledge that reasonable and well-informed people have come to different conclusions about climate change. Perhaps the most important thing students can learn from college is how serious intellectual debates are conducted. Nothing could be further from a model of that than *An Inconvenient Truth*.

Many of this year's summer reading choices introduce incoming freshmen to the pervasive race/class/gender lens through which professors today so often view the world. *A Home on the Field*



Many of the books are of dubious value for the purpose of getting incoming freshmen to see what higher education should be about.

by Paul Cuadros, *The Best of Enemies* by Osha Gray Davidson, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* by Harriet Jacobs, and *Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight* by Alexandra Fuller all focus on race or ethnicity. The notion that most social phenomena, and nearly all of America's problems, can be explained by racism, sexism, classism, and so on is one that most students will repeatedly encounter in their courses in the humanities and social sciences. There isn't any benefit in leading off with a dose of it.

UNC - Greensboro's summer reading program, with the choice of six books, allows students to choose among many options, ensuring that students read something in which they are interested and are able to discuss the work with like-minded students. Unfortunately, none of the books offers both academic rigor and engaging content. Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis*, the graphic novel of a young girl's life in Iran, is a compelling story, but fails to introduce students to university-level work.

North Carolina State's summer reading choice, *The Colors of the Mountain*, an autobiography of life in China under communism, seems more

insightful. Administrators chose the book because it addresses many of the questions that incoming students have thought about: "What do students get from a college education? What's truly valuable? What do I hope to make of my life?" The book's author, Da Chen, will be the guest speaker at N.C. State's Wolfpack Welcome Week Convocation Festival.

A common thread among the choices for summer reading is that the books are quite recent. Perhaps it would be wise for the people who make the selections to cast a wider net, considering books that are not new but have stood the test of time.

As a college freshman in 1969, the senior of the two authors of this column was assigned to read *The Educated Imagination* by Northrop Frye. It had nothing to do with current events or socio-economic problems. Rather, the book was about literature and literary criticism. Frye sought to explain why literature is important and to show that reading great fiction can expand our imaginations, enabling us to see the world from new vantage points.

Another book that some colleges and universities have in the past chosen as their summer reading is *How to Read a Book* by Mortimer Adler and Charles Van Doren. First published in 1940, this is something of a "living classic." It explains what reading is really about and how to get the most out of it. That's something students need now more than ever. CJ

George C. Leef is vice president for research at the John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy. Jenna Robinson is campus coordinator for the Pope Center.

North Carolinians for Home Education

The MISSION of NCHÉ is to:

- PROTECT the right to homeschool in North Carolina.
- PROMOTE homeschooling as an excellent educational choice.
- PROVIDE Support to homeschoolers with conferences, book fairs, and other resources.



The IDEALS of NCHÉ are:

- Educational excellence.
- Parental authority and responsibility for education.
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Over 9000 people will attend the annual conference and book fair in Winston-Salem May 26-28. For more information about NCHÉ, you can call the office at 919-790-1100 or visit the website at www.nche.com

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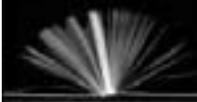
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Town and County

No gates in Asheville

Asheville has banned the creation of future gated communities in the city. The decision is a marked change in policy, since Asheville had approved a request to create a gated community as recently as February. That action, though, might have helped inspire the move toward banning further gated communities, the *Asheville Citizen-Times* reports.

Earlier this year, Asheville approved a 132-home gated subdivision called Thoms Estate only after developer Global Development Resources promised not to restrict pedestrian or bicycle access and limit vehicle access only at night. The developer argued that buyers expected gates as an amenity.

Opposition to future gated communities was based on impact on connectivity and its perceived impact on a sense of community.

"I'm not from Asheville, but when I came to Asheville, I moved into an established neighborhood, and I joined the community," said Councilman Bryan Freeborn, speaking in favor of the ban. "To me, gates are really anti-community."

"I just don't want Asheville to become a series of gated communities, especially with the more high-end neighborhoods as they continue to be developed," said Mayor Terry Bellamy.

The ban does not apply to existing gated communities or planned gated communities that previously had been approved by the city.

Iredell County's discovery

Iredell County has found 69 homes valued at a total of \$14 million that it had not had on its tax rolls. Most of the properties are in a half-completed development called Davidson Pointe that was annexed by the town of Davidson a few years ago. Davidson lies primarily in Mecklenburg County, and therein lies a large portion of the problem, the *Statesville Record & Landmark* reports.

"There was no record of this neighborhood at all," resident Trish Mulloy said.

"There are 90,000 parcels out there, and I'm sorry, but we can't keep up with everything," Iredell County Tax Assessor Bill Doolittle said. "The majority of people let us know [what is going on], but a number of people don't each year." CJ

Secrecy Surrounded Jackson Moratorium Plans

Editor's note: This is the third installment in a series investigating the spread of "smart growth" regulations across North Carolina and other states. Pushed by environmentalists, smart growth abrogates the rights of property owners and diminishes individual liberty, critics say.

By RICHARD WAGNER

Editor

SYLVA, N.C.

Secrecy surrounded plans for enactment of a moratorium on development in Jackson County before the measure was hastily put into effect in early February, county commissioners and business executives say.

"The moratorium came up as a surprise to everyone except a few of the commissioners," said Chairman Brian McMahan, the only commissioner who voted against the measure. "Commissioner [Tom] Massie was one of the individuals. And we discussed it briefly and we added it to the agenda that night [Feb. 5]. I had not even seen a copy of it."

The moratorium, which went into effect the next day, has drained millions of dollars from the county's economy, McMahan and local businessmen said.

Critics have said the commissioners who voted for the moratorium, and who were led by Massie, did not mention the issue before the election in November.

When asked by CJ whether those commissioners avoided discussion of a moratorium, Massie said, "Now, only a moron stands up and says what his direct strategy is going to be. But we can...learn from some of our neighbors and past history. So, no we did not stand up and say, 'Elect us and we'll have a moratorium.'"

"No. 1, that heightens people's fears unnecessarily because that may not have been the case... But we did tell people, I told them specifically, I told them at every public gathering I went to and spoke...that we were going to look at some land-use regulations of a reasonable nature to deal with subdivisions, environmental protection, and safety issues."

Bankers, lawyers, developers and others associated with the construction industry said the moratorium hit like an ambush, cost them tens of millions of dollars, and jeopardized their businesses and their employees' livelihoods.

Roger Plemens, president of Macon Bank, said that the bank supports "planned growth," but that the moratorium came as a surprise. "It was. It was. I know of one particular developer who owned several hundred acres and he had gone far enough that he had Phase I already platted that he could continue to sell lots, but it left his other properties in limbo in how to plan hiring surveyors and engineers and those kind of things."

Plemens estimated that because of



Critics of a development moratorium in Jackson County say commissioners failed to mention their intentions in the election campaigns in November (CJ photo by Richard Wagner)

the moratorium the bank has about \$20 million worth of loans whose outcomes are questionable.

"We made the loans, with the way we're going to get paid back with the development of the property. Now it's kind of put us at a loss of not knowing how quickly they can develop it, how many lots they can get with the slopes, and the widths of the roads, and those kinds of things," he said.

"I had some folks who were looking to borrow money and they were not aware of the moratorium. They were buying 100 acres in Jackson County. And I said, 'You might want to do some more investigation before you buy this property, because they were planning on developing it. They backed off of buying the property,'" Plemens said.

Joel Rice, owner of an excavating company in Cashiers, said his business has lost a total of about \$750,000 because of the moratorium. "We're about half what we were this time last year in gross sales," he said.

"All of this started when the news came out. Everybody was scared of the unknown and they put a hold on everything," Rice said. "I lost a \$300,000 job the day after they had that first meeting that night and I had been working on that about six weeks and had all the leg work done on it. When it came out the first day, the guy just backed away from the deal. He said, 'too much unknown, I'm not going to do it.'"

So far, Rice said, he has been lucky that he hasn't had to lay off any employees because his business and others in the county had enough work under contract before the moratorium was enacted. But after being in business for about 12 or 13 years, he said, "If the moratorium stays in place, and I don't pick up something new, I would say within 30 to 40 days there will be six or eight layoffs, at least."

"I was kind of blind-sided," he said. "I had worked 12 years and I could kind of see the end of the tunnel for a future, and then they just kind of jerked the rug out. I've got nine TrackHoes, and I've worked my butt off, and I've got them three-quarters paid for, if I owe on five of them."

"What happens if you can't work and finish paying another \$25,000 after you've already paid \$100,000 on each one? Are you going to lose that on each machine?"

"Jay" Pavey, a lawyer in Sylva, reports that the number of real-estate closings done by his firm has decreased significantly. "We did approximately 50 closings in our firm in March, and we're down probably 15 to 20 closings a month now. And this is normally our busiest time of the year."

"I've talked with a client of mine who said, 'I employ 15 people, and I've had to lay off eight of them.' I've talked to a number of people and they've all told me, 'I've laid off people. We don't have work,'" Pavey said.

"I've gotten phone calls from people asking, 'Is there any work available?' In the first time in anyone's memory, they're trying to find work. It has just come to a screeching halt," he said.

Marty Jones, former president of the Highlands-Cashier Board of Realtors, rejects claims by some county officials and the Chamber of Commerce that the moratorium has not hurt the local economy. So far, the unemployment rate in the county has remained fairly steady.

"That's just a bunch of bull," Jones said. The real crunch is just beginning to hit.

"In South Jackson we're off about 25 percent in the number of units, and we're off about 15 percent in the median price of the land. It's driven people to

Continued as "Secrecy", Page 19

*Hurts poor communities***JLF Analyst: Forced Annexation Violates Democratic Principles**

By CJ STAFF

North Carolina needs to scrap forced annexation laws because they violate democratic principles, help cities ignore their budget problems, and exclude minority neighborhoods, concludes a new John Locke Foundation Spotlight report.

"Forced annexation was supposed to promote sound urban development in areas that need municipal services," said report author Daren Bakst, JLF legal and regulatory policy analyst. "Instead it has done the opposite. It has created a system in which cities ignore areas that need the benefits of annexation. Forced annexation is undemocratic, and there is no reason why the state's annexation process has to continue trampling on civil rights, voting rights, and property rights."

Forced annexation takes place when cities and towns acquire unincorporated areas next to their existing territory without the consent of residents who live in the targeted annexation areas. "This process has come under extreme criticism, in large part because of its treatment of individuals living in unincorporated areas," Bakst said.

State legislators are considering a study of municipal annexation laws. The N.C. House Rules Committee held a public hearing on the topic June 13 at the Legislative Building in Raleigh.

"The legislature has a chance to recommend and enact meaningful reform," Bakst said. "The question is not if the laws need to be reformed, but how they should be reformed. A good place to start would be to focus on preserving the rights of North Carolinians."

The current annexation system suffers from an inherent flaw, Bakst said. "The system ignores the rational behavior of municipalities to protect their own interest and the interests of their current residents," he said. "Municipalities will annex areas only when there is some financial benefit and not a financial harm."

That means economically dis-

advantaged areas that could benefit from municipal services will sit outside town limits, while elected leaders target neighborhoods that boost the city's tax base, Bakst said. Studies have shown this selective annexation tends to hurt minority communities, he said.



Daren Bakst

Because cities and towns can select targets for annexation, they can hide their own budget problems, Bakst said. "When the N.C. League of Municipalities argues that forced annexation helps with bond ratings, it is admitting the economic rationale for annexations," he said. "Adding an appealing unincorporated area becomes a bailout for a municipality that wants to fix its own poor financial condition. As long as that financial bailout mechanism is in place, cities can take unnecessary risks and make poor budgetary decisions."

Meanwhile, the targeted homeowners pay more than just additional taxes, Bakst said. "To add insult to injury, individuals who are forcibly annexed have to pay 'development fees' for municipal water and sewer services," he said. "These fees can cost thousands of dollars. If a municipality wants to forcibly annex an area, it should bear the costs of providing the infrastructure for these services."

Beyond the financial burden, forced annexation violates fundamental rules of democracy, Bakst said. "Residents in areas to be annexed should have a voice in the process," he said. "North Carolina's annexation system should ensure whoever is making decisions on annexation is accountable to the people being annexed. Accountability will protect democratic principles and promote sound urban growth."

"Forced annexation needs to be eliminated immediately, and significant annexation reform needs to be adopted." CJ

"The legislature has a chance to recommend and enact meaningful reform. The question is not if the laws need to be reformed, but how they should be reformed. A good place to start would be to focus on preserving the rights of North Carolinians."

Daren Bakst
Policy Analyst
John Locke Foundation

Commentary

Legislators' Bizarre World

Perception is a powerful word and probably the cause for consternation across the state body politic. In particular, it is manifested in the General Assembly.

Having spoken recently to a group of them, I've come away more mystified than I was before walking in those bizarre hallways.

I sometimes have to ask myself, "What color is the sky in their world?"

One particular example is the current Slope Bill (HB1756). The measure is a vivid example of when legislators' perceptions and reality don't mix. The legislation would essentially require counties to have an engineer and supporting staff on the county payroll to ensure that houses don't slide down hills.

Supporters of the bill tell stories about old women whose life savings were lost when some unscrupulous real-estate agent sold them a house that collapsed. With apologies to the old women in question, is an anecdote worthy of sweeping, costly, and invasive new legislation?

In theory, the act seems to make sense. But the facts say otherwise. The N.C. Geological Survey has tracked landslides — 330 of them over the past 66 years (more have occurred but these are just the ones they tracked). The majority occurred on land considered natural slopes vs "modified." This is hardly a cry for sweeping legislation.

Recently, two massive storms swept through the mountains destroying roads and generating dozens of landslides that killed five people. The state reacted to create the future ability to generate landslide warnings, which is a good idea. The storms dumped more than 20 inches of rain in less than 10 days in some parts of the mountains. No amount of legislation would have stopped such a force of nature.

The legislation ignores the fact that banks and insurance companies want safe structures built. So do designers and general contractors, who take a lot of pride in constructing safe buildings.

According to statistics, a person is far more likely to get struck by lightning than to become a victim of a landslide caused by faulty construction. I'm still waiting for lightning legislation. Then again, a person also is more likely to get hit by a train. Meanwhile, I'll wait for safe-train legislation.

Such legislation is an example of when legislators think they're doing something for public health. Actually, they are ignoring the cost vs. benefit issues: A fiscal note is not attached to the legislation.

Landslides are natural occurrences in the mountains, and until mountains erode to flatlands, landslides will continue. Even if the legislation were to be approved, and property owners in the mountains were required to hire geotechnical engineers to make sure all is well on 40 percent slopes or greater (a good idea), shifting soil above, below or adjacent to the "engineered" site would change the safety of the "safe" site. There is nothing in the bill to deal with such an occurrence. Even politicians cannot legislate nature.

What the legislature could do in this instance is continue with the mapping program started after hurricanes Ivan and Frances and consider approving banks, insurance companies, or real estate agent disclosure requirements dealing with slope and safety concerns before a county could sign off on new construction.

The reality is that people will make mistakes, and dangerous situations will occur, but passing such a sweeping piece of legislation forcing counties and individual to incur massive new costs regardless of whether their lots are made of topsoil or solid granite is missing the point. It's becoming a steeper slope to build in the mountains even without such unnecessary legislation. CJ

Chad Adams is director of the Center for Local Innovation, vice president for development of the John Locke Foundation, and former vice chairman of the Lee County Board of Commissioners.



Chad Adams

Local Innovation Bulletin Board

Gridlock Takes a Toll

The average driver in the Los Angeles area spends the equivalent of more than two workweeks each year stuck in traffic. But "congestion pricing," where tolls vary based on the time of day and traffic, are keeping traffic moving along a 10-mile stretch of Orange County's State Road 91, *USA Today* says.

Congestion pricing is a fair and effective idea for fighting gridlock. It employs basic economics by letting price find the balance between supply and demand. Thanks to high-tech tracking systems, it need not involve the bane of conventional toll roads, the traffic-inducing toll plaza.

Congestion pricing has other advantages as well. It helps finance road expansion. Revenue from congestion pricing can help pay for expensive road-building projects — the toll lanes on California's SR 91, for instance, were built at no cost to taxpayers.

It also encourages public transportation. With roads funded through a variety of sources, driving is subsidized, which discourages people from using rail and bus systems, and makes building new ones less practical.

Opponents of congestion pricing say that it adversely affects businesses such as trucking that rely on cheap use of the nation's highways. That is true, but congestion already exacts a heavy toll on drivers: In 2003 it cost \$63 billion in lost productivity and additional gasoline, while motorists spent 3.7 billion hours stuck in traffic, according to a Texas A&M University study.

Big-box drug wars

Big-box retailers, such as Wal-Mart and Target, have entered a drug price war with each other, meaning lower prices for consumers, KRXI-TV in Reno, Nev., says.

Wal-Mart's announcement that it was launching a test program to sell 291 generic drugs for \$4 a prescription in the Tampa area set off a scramble among all pharmacy retailers. Target matched Wal-Mart's offer

immediately and K-Mart publicized its 90-day generics for \$15. Other regional supermarket stores such as Giant Eagle of Pennsylvania and Meijer of Michigan started offering a handful of generic antibiotics for free.

The simple \$4 price has also brought transparency to the retail drug arena. Until recently, when a drug's patent expired, pharmacies would charge as much as they liked for the generic version. One

study found that the markups would be as high as 4,000 percent. For instance, in 2004, health economist Devon Herrick found that a 30-day prescription of Prozac's generic version, Fluoxetine, was selling in Iowa for \$55, in some places in Florida for \$43, in Virginia for \$45, and at the discount wholesale club Costco Wholesale for \$7.09.

Kids safer today

In the wake of shocking crimes such as the mass murder at Virginia Tech, there is good news to report: America's children are actually safer, Richard J. McNally, psychology professor at Harvard University, says in the *Wall Street Journal*.

Sociologist David Finkelhor and clinical psychologist Lisa Jones document that rates of crime have dropped by as much as 70 percent, depending on the nature of the offense. Since 1993, the juvenile homicide rate dropped by 50 percent, and the drop was even steeper for children between the ages of 14 and 17.

Things have improved since 1990 for nearly every category of child victimization. According to the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System, substantiated cases of childhood sexual abuse declined by 49 percent, and substantiated cases of physical abuse declined by 43 percent. So why have things been getting so much better for Americans under age 18? There are probably multiple causes, McNally said. More criminals are behind bars, more police officers are on the streets, and more social workers are dedicated to improving the lives of children. CJ

Congestion pricing is a fair and effective idea for fighting gridlock. It employs basic economics by letting price find the balance between supply and demand.

From Cherokee to Currituck**W-S Recycling At a Crossroads**

How Winston-Salem pays for its recycling program is the subject of growing debate. The recycling program is a money loser and the City-County Utility Commission, which operates the county's landfills, is increasingly unwilling to cover its losses, the *Winston-Salem Journal* reports.

Winston-Salem's curbside recycling program is run by Waste Management Inc. under a contract with the city. The company collects 11 types of materials, takes them to a processing plant, sorts them, and sells them. The items collected include newspapers, magazines, telephone books, junk mail, office paper, chipboard, corrugated cardboard, glass bottles, plastic bottles, aluminum beverage cans, steel food cans, and aerosol cans.

While the city receives a portion of the proceeds from the collected materials, it comes nowhere near the cost of operating the program. The city is expecting \$220,000 in rebates from Waste Management this year against the \$2.5 million cost of operating the program.

"I don't think any recycling program has ever paid for itself if you're talking about a comprehensive recycling program that local governments run," said Wayne Thomas, the assistant solid-waste administrator.

Competition from privately owned landfills has increasingly cut into the ability of the utility commission to subsidize the recycling program. The share of the county's garbage being disposed of in private landfills has increased from 18 percent five years ago to 35 percent last year with city-county landfill usage is down 27 percent over the same period.

The utility commission in turn wants the recycling program to be paid for through some other mechanism, such as property taxes.

"We have done it for many years," said utility commissioner Paul McGill of subsidizing the recycling program. "It's got to end. It's way past time to do action instead of talk."

Fayetteville redistricting

The U.S. Department of Justice has rejected a proposal to change how Fayetteville elects its city council, citing the likelihood that it would reduce the number of blacks elected. The city is unlikely to appeal the ruling, the *Fayetteville Observer* reports.

Fayetteville's City Council has nine members, which are elected from

districts. Four of the districts are drawn to favor black candidates.

In February, Fayetteville voters approved a new alignment after a petition drive had put the issue on the ballot. The council would still have nine members, but six would have been elected from districts. The remaining three members would have been elected at-large.

Fayetteville and Cumberland County are covered by the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which requires federal approval of any elections changes to

assure they don't negatively impact blacks. With three of the districts in the "6-3" plan, the key to federal approval was

the likelihood of black candidates winning at least one at-large seat.

Justice Department officials thought that the city's attempts to show that blacks could win at-large were not analytically rigorous enough. Assistant Attorney General Wan J. Kim wrote that black voters would have "substantially less than certain prospects of electing candidates of their choice to four of the nine positions" in rejecting the proposed alignment.

Greensboro animal licensing?

Greensboro is the only large city in the state without an animal licensing ordinance. That might change soon if a proposal advancing in Guilford County is approved.

Under the proposed fee structure, owners of fertile animals would be charged \$20 per year; the fee for fixed pets would be \$15 per year, thus providing an incentive to have animals sterilized. The charge for microchipped or tattooed animals would also be \$5 lower because they are easier to identify if they get lost.

An exemption would exist for hunters, breeders, and show-pet owners, who would pay \$10 per animal to a maximum of \$100 per year.

Enforcement has emerged as a particular concern. While many pet owners are responsible, a substantial number aren't. They don't get their pets vaccinated against rabies as required by state law. And they presumably also wouldn't get an animal license, for which a current rabies shot is a prerequisite.

"If you're not going to enforce it, then you shouldn't implement the policy," Guilford County Commissioner Melvin "Skip" Alston said to the *Greensboro News & Record*. CJ



Secrecy Surrounded Jackson Moratorium Effort

Continued from Page 16

existing, rather than vacant [housing]," he said.

"The median price of vacant land is \$115,000, and last year it was \$149,000 per transaction [developable lots, tracts, and lots of record]," Jones said. "It would be difficult to calculate the hundreds of thousands of dollars of loss."

No Realtors have gone out of business yet, he said, but, "It's definitely hurting...I do know of developers who are in dire straits. There are a lot of them," he said.

The moratorium, and the damage it has caused, wasn't necessary, McMahan said.

"When I weigh all the things that were there on the table and I look on the impact that it could have on people's livelihood, and ... a lot of people — most people, I would say — live from paycheck to paycheck," he said. "If they don't get paid this week, then their payments don't get made. They don't have money to buy food, to eat groceries that week. They don't have anything.

"And a lot of these young guys have gone out and borrowed everything they could borrow in their names, trying to build a business and we would have ruined it. And when I weigh that against whether we're going to be able to stop one more house from being built, it wasn't worth it."

The four commissioners who voted for the moratorium were Massie, William Shelton, Joe Cowan, and Mark Jones. They also instructed the Planning Board and the Planning Department, directed by Linda Cable, to draw up proposed steep-slope and subdivision ordinances.

McMahan, in opposing the other commissioners, said he has been left in the dark about their plans. He and many

others said that the commissioners, as candidates in the election, did not mention a moratorium. Also, he said, the other commissioners were evasive about their plans for directing growth in the county.

"I have always campaigned, in the two elections I have been in, on no zoning. The issue of zoning is probably one of the hottest topics that you'll answer during the campaign. It's the question that's on everybody's mind — especially a county that has no zoning.

"That question was put up to all the candidates. All the candidates said, 'Oh no, we're not in favor of countywide zoning. We're in favor of land-use planning.'"

Massie, however, defended the other commissioners' actions and said it's not true that as candidates they misled the electorate about the possibility of introducing land-use ordinances. "I did campaign on land-use regulations as did at least one of the other commissioners and probably two of them about the fact it was time to do something," he said.

"The movement for the moratori-

"When I weigh all the things that were there on the table and I look on the impact that it could have on people's livelihood, and ... a lot of people — most people, I would say — live from paycheck to paycheck. If they don't get paid this week, then their payments don't get made. They don't have money to buy food, to eat groceries that week."

Brian McMahan
Jackson County
Commissioner

um simply comes about because of the growth in Jackson County here for the last several years, principally in the last 15 years," Massie said. "We think the growth rate's been extraordinary...and many of the other commissions in this region are experiencing the same types of growth, particularly in the influx of second homes and seasonal residences... and we can see a real explosion in the near future as more and more people retire, and this is where they want to retire to."

Although some people oppose regulations, he said, the majority of residents want "reasonable"

regulations enacted.

"Now, what's the definition of 'reasonable?' We don't know exactly what that is. We do know, for a fact, that there's been an unwillingness — Jackson County's had no subdivision regulations at all — that's the reason we had the moratorium.

"But there's been an unwillingness of the industry to regulate itself and establish any kind of minimum standards whatsoever. Consequently, in my opin-

ion, that's where good government steps in and provides some kind of minimum standards so that there are some regulations out there both from a public safety standpoint and also from the standpoint of consumer protection."

Disasters in the mountainous region also motivated Jackson County commissioners to consider the ordinances, Massie said. He cited "numerous situations" in Haywood, Macon, Swain, and Jackson counties in which landslides killed people and destroyed homes.

However, neither Plemens nor Pavey could recall any fatal disasters in Jackson County. "There have been a couple of instances, in Haywood County, I think...but I don't see that problem as being huge" in Jackson County, Plemens said.

Before the bank makes loans, he said, it already takes steps to protect its investments. "That's what we have to look out for. We definitely have to take a hard look at property on steep slope." Insurance companies, real-estate firms, and developers generally do likewise.

The commissioners' next step in the process will be work sessions, where they will study the proposed ordinances submitted by the planning director. Another public hearing is scheduled for Aug. 6.

"The moratorium is set to expire Aug. 8. It's only a five-month moratorium," Massie said.

According to Pavey, however, and others, the public's sentiment is one of surrender, for now:

"I think a lot of people have given up. A lot of people have said, 'OK, there's nothing I can say, or nothing I can do is going to change the minds of these commissioners. They've made their minds up, and we're just waiting on the next election.'" CJ

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Asheville	WWNC	AM 570	Sundays	7:00 PM
Burlington	WBAG	AM 1150	Saturdays	9:00 AM
Chapel Hill	WCHL	AM 1360	Sundays	6:00 PM
Elizabeth City	WGAI	AM 560	Saturdays	6:00 AM
Fayetteville	WFNC	AM 640	Saturdays	1:00 PM
Gastonia/Charlotte	WZRH	AM 960	Saturdays	2:00 PM
Goldensboro	WGBR	AM 1150	Saturdays	6:00 PM
Greenville/Washington	WDLX	AM 930	Saturdays	10:00 AM
Hendersonville	WHKP	AM 1450	Sundays	6:00 PM
Jacksonville	WJNC	AM 1240	Sundays	7:00 PM
Newport/New Bern	WTKF	FM 107.3	Sundays	7:00 PM
Salisbury	WSTP	AM 1490	Saturdays	11:00 AM
Siler City	WNCA	AM 1570	Sundays	6:00 AM
Southern Pines	WEEB	AM 990	Wednesdays	8:00 AM
Whiteville	WTXY	AM 1540	Tuesdays	10:00 AM
Wilmington	WAAV	AM 980	Saturdays	1:00 PM
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From the Liberty Library

• No one man or woman has ever been in a position to see the presidents, and the presidency, so intimately, over so many years, as has the Rev. Billy Graham. They called him in for photo opportunities. They called for comfort. They asked about death and salvation; about sin and forgiveness. At a time when the nation is increasingly split over the place of religion in public life, *The Preacher and the Presidents: Billy Graham in the White House* reveals how the world's most powerful men and world's most famous evangelist knit faith and politics together. Written by *TIME* magazine's Nancy Gibbs and Michael Duffy, learn more at www.hachettebookgroupusa.com.

• Years before 9/11, America's enemy issued a warning and the country wasn't listening, says Jed Babbin. He says the warning continues today—by enemies such as Iran, North Korea, and radicals and terrorists across the globe—but America is still not listening.

Babbin, former deputy undersecretary of defense, sounds the alarm in *In the Words of Our Enemies*, exposing demagogues, dictators, and death squads that openly threaten America. Among the evidence Babbin cites is what Islamists are saying about their plans for America; how Venezuela's Hugo Chavez is leading a radical anti-American revolution that aims to organize the world's oil supplies against America; and why China's plans go beyond regional hegemony to driving the United States out of the Pacific. See www.regnery.com for more information.

• Do you love America? What about your kids? You want them to love America as much as you do, but when popular culture tells them it's cooler to bash this country than to love it, how can you teach them to be proud and loyal citizens?

As mothers themselves, author Myrna Blyth and former presidential speechwriter Chriss Winston struggled with the same dilemma. Shocked by the growing patriotism gap, they set out to create a real-world resource all parents can use to teach their kids about the greatness of America's past, the promise of its future, and the important role everyone plays in its democracy. *How to Raise an American: 1776 Fun and Easy Tools, Tips, and Activities to Help Your Child Love This Country* shows you how to make patriotism a priority without it becoming a chore for you or your kids. At www.randomhouse.com/crown. CJ

Book review**Edmondson Illustrates Dewey's Dubious Legacy**

* Henry T. Edmondson III: *John Dewey and the Decline of American Education*; Intercollegiate Studies Institute; 2006; 200 pp; \$25

By **TERRY STOOPS**

Contributing Editor

RALEIGH

Henry Edmondson describes his book *John Dewey and the Decline of American Education* as "a simple exegesis of Dewey's writing, with commentary suggesting how his thought finds expression in contemporary American education." He reminds us that ideas have consequences, and John Dewey's ideas have had disastrous consequences for American education over the past 50 years.

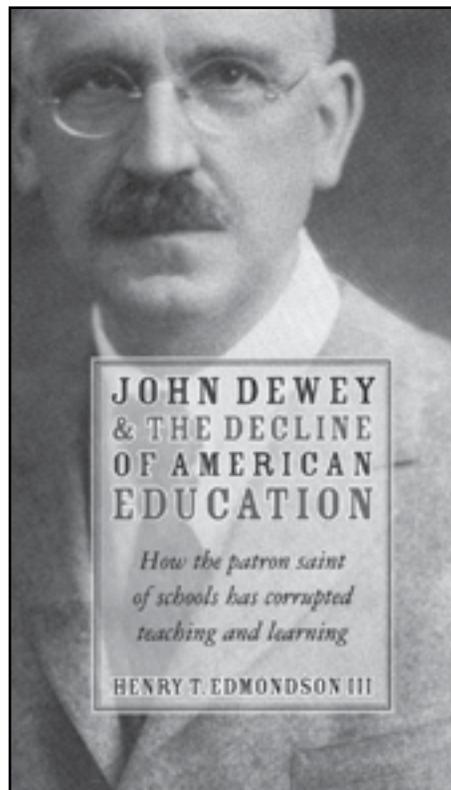
Anyone who attempts to write about Dewey's ideas is immediately presented with two problems. The first is selecting works from the vast corpus of writing by and about Dewey. *The Collected Works of John Dewey* covers 71 years of Dewey's writing in a mere 37 volumes, while the Library of Congress lists 375 books written about Dewey alone.

Edmondson, who teaches political science at Georgia College and State University, focuses on four of Dewey's major works, *Democracy and Education*, *Human Nature and Conduct: An Introduction to Social Psychology*, *Schools of Tomorrow*, and *Experience and Education*. He also draws from a number of Dewey's other major works in educational philosophy, political and social philosophy, and ethics, as well as a wide range of secondary source material. Overall, Edmondson's coverage of Dewey's thought is excellent.

The second problem is Dewey's awful prose and ambiguous ideas. Even William James and Oliver Wendell Holmes, both admiring colleagues in the famed Metaphysical Club, recognized that Dewey's writing was often vague and confusing. Although Edmondson agrees that Dewey was an abysmal communicator, he argues that readers can overcome Dewey's lack of clarity by recognizing that he "subordinates his philosophy to his [progressive] politics."

Using that approach, Edmondson is able to provide a succinct overview of Dewey's ideas without being weighed down by his writing.

Throughout the book, Edmondson highlights Dewey's disdain for religion, tradition, and inherited values. Dewey said such beliefs are at least signs of unintelligent thinking and, at worst, outright oppression by the wealthy and powerful. Philosophically, Dewey argued that, because human nature is always in flux, fixed values and beliefs are inimical to progress. Consequently, he declared that schools should no longer be a venue for teaching traditional religious and moral values. Instead,



At times, Dewey insisted that he was heir apparent to Jefferson, but Edmondson shows that Dewey departed from both Jefferson and Franklin by repudiating those Founders' shared belief that a vibrant republic requires an education designed to cultivate personal virtue.

Dewey believed that schools should be places where the child's impulse and whim rule — insofar as those impulses and whims are consistent with the values of progressivism.

Dewey did not, however, contend that schools should be places of uninhibited activity, as many unfamiliar with his work believe. Edmondson points out that Dewey was a man blinded by his desire to see schools as the means to implement a comprehensive program of progressive social change. As a "microcosm of social life," the school provided Dewey a convenient place to socialize students into adherents of progressive ideals; that is, collectivism and statism.

Dewey also rejected religion and traditional values in favor of encouraging perpetual experimentation via the scientific method. Edmondson sees this as a streak of nihilism in Dewey's

thought, which might be the most worrisome consequence of adopting pedagogy based on his ideas. One needs to look no further than the legion of constructivist-based programs, such as "I Like Me" and "values clarification," to identify the kind of destructive influence Dewey's ideas have had on schooling in the United States.

Within the classroom, Dewey insisted that teachers should not impose abstract aims or external standards on their students. Instead, he endorsed learning through play and hands-on activities, and defended an ad hoc curriculum that favored neither vocational nor academic subjects. Dewey maintained that socialization was just as important as teaching essential skills, such as reading. Edmondson concludes that our current confusion over standards and goals is a "natural consequence of Dewey's insistence on such fluid educational standards."

Edmondson includes chapters on the educational thought of Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin. What might appear to be an unusual detour is actually an instructive discussion of alternatives to Dewey. At times, Dewey insisted that he was heir apparent to Jefferson, but Edmondson shows that Dewey departed from both Jefferson and Franklin by repudiating those Founders' shared belief that a vibrant republic requires an education designed to cultivate personal virtue. Dewey's radicalism is nowhere more apparent than in his rejection of the Founders' educational ideals.

Edmondson offers a number of ways that we can disinherit Dewey from our educational system. They fall into two broad categories: philosophical coherence and excellence in teaching. Philosophical coherence includes implementing reforms that restore clarity, traditional values, and liberal arts to schools. Edmondson also calls for the abolition of the middle-school concept, schools of education, and student learning outcomes, all of which impede genuine educational innovation.

He wants to encourage excellence in teaching by maximizing teacher autonomy and improving teacher preparation. Those aren't bad ideas, but what we really need to do is the one reform that cuts the Gordian Knot — to separate school and state. Dewey's philosophy would probably never have taken root and wouldn't last long in an environment where parents made their own choices and spent their own money for schooling. CJ

Terry L. Stoops (tstoops@johnlocke.org) is education policy analyst at the John Locke Foundation.

Will N.C.'s Shameful Eugenics Past Be Visited on the State Again?

Some people never ask the right questions. Or even ask anything. Take science and government intervention, for many progressive actions (whatever progress is, no one has defined it sufficiently for me) are nothing more than barbarism revived. Case in point: the eugenics movement in 20th-century North Carolina.

What is eugenics? It's the study of or belief in the possibility of improving the qualities of the human species or a human population, especially by such means as discouraging reproduction by persons having genetic defects or presumed to have inheritable undesirable traits (negative eugenics) or encouraging reproduction by persons presumed to have inheritable desirable traits (positive eugenics).

The idea in North Carolina no doubt grew out of the Progressive movement of the late 1800s and

early 1900s. Progressivism, to risk oversimplifying a nuanced movement, can be summed up as an effort to create a more egalitarian America. To that end, more than a few Progressives, including Margaret Sanger, the inspiration for Planned Parenthood, advocated eugenics.

Before Nazi Germany instituted forced sterilization programs, North Carolina established the Eugenics Board of North Carolina in 1929 and started forced sterilizations (negative eugenics). When states decreased the number of sterilizations in the mid-1900s, North Carolina's number uniquely increased. In 57 years, according to some sources, the government had violated 7,600 individuals. Thankfully, the state ended the Eugenics Board of North Carolina in 1974.

The Eugenics Board's purpose had been, as much as possible, to alleviate poverty and eradicate addiction and crime. This was done by giving social workers power to identify "undesirables" and recommend to a five-member state board that a person be sterilized. North Carolina allowed sterilizations for three reasons: epilepsy and two broadly defined categories, sickness and feeble-mindedness.

North Carolina approved 90 percent of the petitions.

The eugenics program targeted poor and rural North Carolinians. As I viewed the exhibit, on display at the Museum of History in Raleigh, that shed light on this dark moment in North Carolina's past, I wondered how many so-called feeble-minded Tar Heels came from rural areas and to what extent the cultural clash between urban and rural America contributed to interpretations of feeble-mindedness. Whatever the extent, the victims were poor and were duped into sacrificing their reproductive abilities.

Although more women (4,989) were sterilized than men (911), the history of the eugenics program was not inherently sexist. One in six sterilizations left a man not only incapable of conceiving a child but also from having sexual relations.

Nor was the program inherently racist. More white women — 2,851 — were victims than black women — 2,098. And more white men — 675 — than black men — 235. About 40 Native Americans — only 1 man — were sterilized, too.

The elephant in the room that no one wants to discuss regarding eugen-

ics is government intervention. One historian has stated that the eugenics program reveals state neglect. But it actually reveals the consequences of government's excessive meddling. It started a welfare program that had inherent flaws and tried to fix problems by intervening in people's lives — in this case, actually entering bodies. Forced sterilization was excused as a means to keep "undesirables" from having more children who might empty the purses of the welfare system.

In a new name of "social biology" and in the debates involving abortion, cloning, in-vitro fertilization, et. al., eugenics is alive today. The debate will intensify as a modern superstition in science is used solely to explain humanity and life — life is not a formula in chemistry class, but a miracle — and Americans decide they want government to intervene in the name of progress.

We must examine history and start asking the right questions. CJ

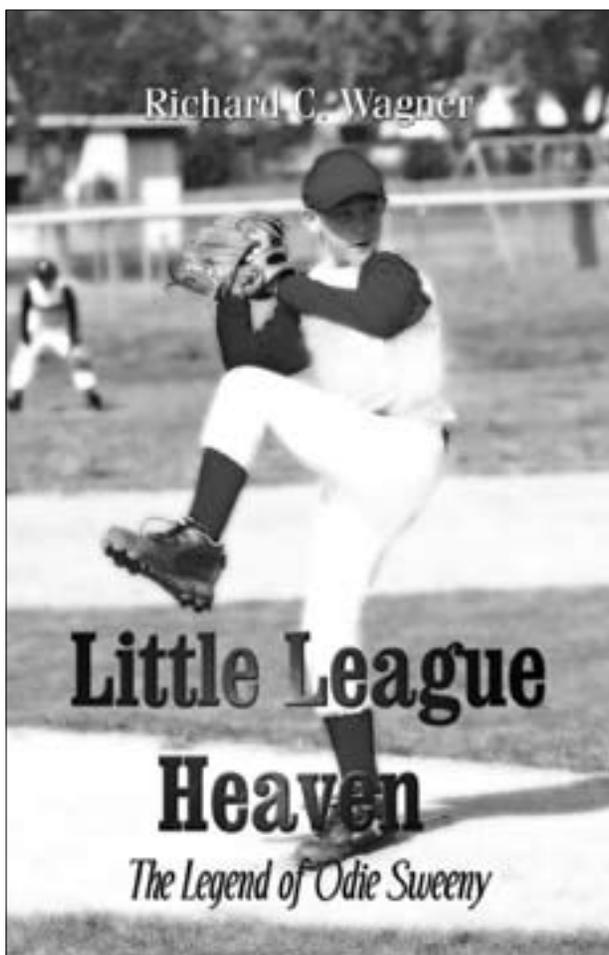
Troy Kickler is director of the North Carolina History Project. (<http://www.northcarolinahistory.org>)



Dr. Troy Kickler

Little League Heaven

By Carolina Journal Editor Richard C. Wagner



When Lillie Jo Sweeney threw out the first pitch of the game at Houston's Astrodome in 1989, she joined the Astros and thousands of boys and girls in celebrating the 50th anniversary of Little League baseball. The event also saluted her deceased husband, Odie Sweeney, a Little League legend who managed a never-say-die team for 38 years — a record in Texas and one of the longest streaks in the nation. *Little League Heaven: The Legend of Odie Sweeney*, an inspirational biography, serves a generous slice of Americana and traditional values.

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Short Takes on Culture

A Reagan Bio That Stinks

• *Ronald Reagan: Fate, Freedom, and the Making of History*

By John Patrick Diggins
W.W. Norton & Company

Fans of the 40th president might be tempted by the smiling cover photo, interesting subtitle, or dust jacket testimonial promising "[a]n original reappraisal of Ronald Reagan from the conservative perspective."

But the writer who offered that praise must not have read the book, which comes across as a backhanded tribute full of caveats and disclaimers.

John Patrick Diggins does not pretend to be conservative. His liberal bona fides attracted this reviewer to the book. How would Diggins reconcile modern-day liberal views with praise for the conservative Reagan?

He doesn't. Instead Diggins concocts a convoluted scheme in which a Reagan enthralled with Thomas Paine's rhetoric and Ralph Waldo Emerson's philosophy succeeds in ending the Cold War peacefully, despite his "neocon" advisers' bellicosity. Reagan was great, Diggins tells us, in spite of his conservative beliefs.

Glaring errors in Diggins' text range from small (Reagan's first budget guru alternates between the names "Stockman" and "Stockton," sometimes within the same paragraph) to large (Diggins interprets the line "government is the problem" to mean that Reagan wanted the state to disappear).

The dust jacket promises an argument that Reagan "deserves to be regarded as one of our three or four greatest presidents." Diggins never goes that far, instead offering "belated respect" to "one of the most inspiring political leaders in the second half of the twentieth century."

— MITCH KOKAI

• "39 Second Single: Dating Stories So Bad They Must Be True"
Online video series
39secondsingle.blogspot.com

I don't remember how I stumbled onto this video blog series, but I'm glad I did. It's better than most TV these days. "39 Second Single" (I've yet to figure out the meaning of the title) is a series of three-minute online videos documenting the efforts of Liza Persky, a 39-year-old single woman living in Manhattan, to find a good man.

Watch the first episode, "Steak Tar Tar," in which she recounts her

dad's efforts to hook her up with his yoga instructor, and you'll be hooked. The guy loves steak tartare so Liza, who doesn't eat red meat even when it's cooked, eats raw ground beef so she won't hurt the guy's feelings. Another guy she dated loved sweetbreads and she ate that too. Why can't guys just order a burger? she wonders.

Other episodes (there are 24 in the first "season") touch on double dating, dancing, attempts to get the attention of a much-younger bartender, and online dating services. As you watch the episodes you wonder why this funny and clever woman can't get a date.

All of America got involved in picking from three of her dating prospects by voting online. They chose "Cinnamon" over "Nantucket" and "JFK, Jr." but you'll have to wait to see how that turns out. Season One ended as Liza and "Cinnamon" had just met at a sidewalk café. Season Two has already begun.

— JON HAM

• "Grizzly Man" (2005)
Lions Gate Video
Directed by Werner Herzog

Timothy Treadwell spent 13 summers living among wild grizzly bears in Alaska. In this documentary Timothy grows to believe he is accepted by the bears, which later leads to the death of him and his girlfriend, Aime Huguénard.

The footage of Timothy is amateur -- shot by himself with a video camera and a tripod. It is only the unusual content and the strange behavior of Timothy that makes this film worth seeing. Timothy is a deeply disturbed individual who feels more compassion for bears than humans.

He talks to the camera, mouthing off about society and the way he is treated for being a bear lover. But many of his ideals were contradictory.

He mentions several times that he was doing this to protect the bears, yet he lives among them in a tent. He even names the bears, talks to them, and attempts to pet them. Doesn't this disturb their natural habitat?

But if you can put aside that Timothy uses a lot of profanity, it is rather captivating to watch the way he interacts with the bears. There are no gruesome scenes of him or his girlfriend being tortured or eaten by the bears. But the film left me in disbelief as friends and family called Timothy's fate a "tragedy."

— JANA DUNKLEY CJ

Book review

Wooster: Philanthropic Mistakes

• Martin Morse Wooster: *Great Philanthropic Mistakes*; Hudson Institute; 2006; 157 pp; \$14.95

By GEORGE C. LEEF
Contributing Editor

RALEIGH

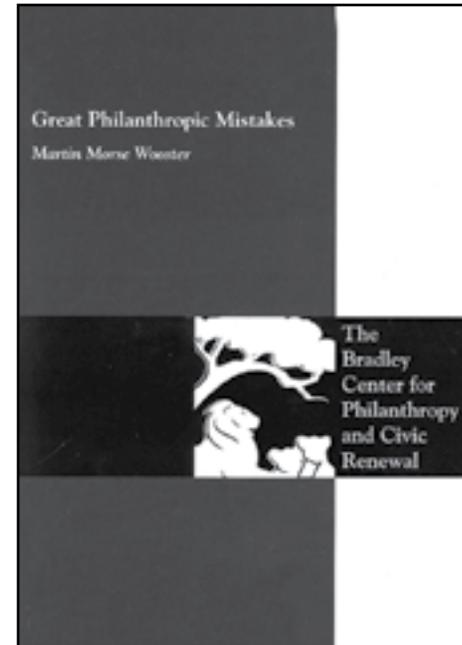
The University of Chicago was founded with John D. Rockefeller's money and numerous public libraries were created through the philanthropy of Andrew Carnegie. People hear about philanthropic success stories and generally assume that charitable foundations are doing wonderful things with the fortunes of the nation's super-rich. In fact, there is a common view that the charitable work done with the wealth amassed by business tycoons is a "giving back to society" that at least partially atones for their undoubted transgressions against law and or morality.

But who reflects on the possibility that charitable foundations might actually do harmful things with the money at their disposal?

There is only one such person who comes to mind, namely Martin Morse Wooster, author of *Great Philanthropic Mistakes*. Wooster has made quite a study of philanthropy. His earlier book, *The Great Philanthropists and the Problem of Donor Intent*, examined the tendency for charitable foundations to be taken over by "experts" who overwhelmingly have a leftist outlook and steer the foundation's giving in ways that are often radically at odds with the philosophy of the donor.

With his current book, Wooster focuses on eight cases where huge foundations made mistakes: the Rockefeller Foundation's attempt to recast American medical education; the Lasker Foundation's war against cancer; the population-control campaign of the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations; the Ford Foundation's "Gray Areas" program; the Carnegie Corporation's public television campaigns; the Ford Foundation's school-decentralization initiative; the MacArthur Fellows program; and the Annenberg Foundation's public school reform crusade. After reading about each one, my mind was drawn to Milton Friedman's observation that no one spends other people's money as carefully as he spends his own.

Foundations don't act. The people who run them do. Wooster's eight cases center around foundation decision makers who had grand visions for changing the world. Arguably, the one who best exemplifies the typical mindset was Ford Foundation President McGeorge Bundy. Bundy, who ran the giant in the 1960s and 1970s, once said, "I may be wrong but I am never in doubt." It's that lack of doubt that is the root of the problem time after time. Ford's "Gray Areas" program is an excellent example.



The basic idea behind this program was to fund community organizations in impoverished areas, mostly inner-cities. Ford Foundation officers assumed that activists in each community would know best what kinds of programs would be most beneficial. Thus, to effectuate the overall program, Ford created new community organizations that would have great latitude to do whatever their leaders wanted. The result was a set of community organizations "so flexible as to be virtually spineless, agencies whose very existence was dependent on their ability to write proposals that reflected what their sponsors wanted to hear," as Harvard historian Stephan Thernstrom said.

Another illustrative failure Wooster highlights is the Annenberg Foundation's gigantic effort at public school reform in the 1990s. Walter Annenberg made his money in magazines, especially *TV Guide*. His foundation announced in 1993 the "Annenberg Challenge," in which it put up half a billion dollars and asked other philanthropies to toss in some of their money as well.

Government schooling was going to get a huge financial boost with the money designated for "reform" efforts. All of the funding, however, went into the educational status quo, which happily absorbed the money and went about business as usual.

Summing up, Wooster writes, "The grant maker usually finds himself surrounded by mendicants, courtiers, and flatterers. Faced with all this flattery, he naturally becomes more than a little full of himself." Combine that with the common belief among those people who are drawn to foundation work that they can design and implement programs to make the world better and you have the perfect formula for the dissipation of wealth.

CJ

George Leef (georgeleef@aol.com) is book review editor of *The Freeman*.

Reagan Private Diaries Show Man With Little to Hide

• Douglas Brinkley, ed.: *The Reagan Diaries*; HarperCollins; 2007; 767 pp; \$35

By HAL YOUNG
Contributing Editor

RALEIGH

You know a book is special when the reader is captured by the end papers. Douglas Brinkley's edition of Ronald Reagan's diaries reproduces his own account of the assassination attempt March 30, 1981: "Getting shot hurts," he says, changing from black to blue ink, and admits to increasing pain and fear until he found himself in the emergency room praying for the gunman. "I realized I couldn't ask for God's help while at the same time I felt hatred for the mixed up young man who had shot me." It's a revealing moment.

Ronald Reagan kept a very personal and very readable diary—from his first inauguration to the last flight from the South Lawn. The man that emerges is much what we thought we were seeing—warm and optimistic, comfortable in his own convictions, and willing to reach out to anyone who seems willing to reach back. Reagan didn't mind recording that sometimes Republicans caused him more grief than Democrats, that polls were interesting but not terribly important, and even the leader of the free world had arguments with his kids and missed his wife when she went out of town. In other words, it is the diary of a man with a clear conscience, who just happened to be president.

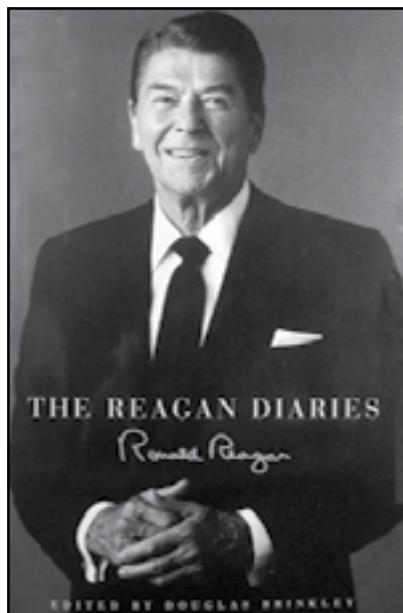
The eight-year journal is reduced to a "mere" 767 pages, but Reagan's entries are so succinct it's hard to guess what was omitted. Years of writing editorials and radio commentaries made Reagan a concise journalist, and most days are captured in a paragraph or two with

abbreviations sprinkled throughout. He obviously wrote for himself, not history, since national events and meetings with heads of state are interspersed with trivialities, such as a call from a Hollywood friend; an oft-repeated, "I hate Monday;" and wry observations about his health.

There are flashes of anger and an undercurrent of humor. While he isn't writing his political testament, it is easy to follow his guiding principles. "The press is dying to portray me as now trying to undo the New Deal. I remind them I voted for F.D.R. 4 times," he wrote. "I'm trying to undo the 'Great Society'." It was L.B.J.'s war on poverty that led to our present mess."

Reagan had a bipartisan friendship with House Speaker Tip O'Neill, whom he called "a true pol. He can really like you personally & be a friend while politically trying to beat your head in." He reserved his outright disgust for left-wing Republicans like then-Sen. Lowell Weicker, "an arrogant, pompous fathead" as Reagan described him; "I answered his question without telling him what a schmuck he is."). When moderate Republicans quailed at his economic plan—more than once—he concludes, "We have rabbits when we need Tigers."

World leaders form a steady parade through the diary. Reagan's friendship with British Prime Minister Margaret



Thatcher stemmed from the early weeks of his administration, and he took immediate liking to many others, from Egypt's Anwar Sadat to the president of Portugal ("a socialist but a rabid anti-Communist"). Some major allies weren't so favored; Reagan had a much better response to Germany's conservative Helmut Kohl than his predecessor, the "pessimistic" Helmut Schmidt, and found Canada's

rying."

No one feared Reagan's intentions more deeply than the Soviet Union, and as Leonid Brezhnev, Yuri Andropov, and Konstantin Chernenko died in quick succession, much of Reagan's first-term contact with Soviet leadership was left to their ambassador, Anatoly Dobrynin, whom he also liked ("Everything we've heard is true ... [the Dobrynins] are a most likeable couple. In fact so much so you wonder how they can stick with the phoniness of the Soviet system.") Reagan chose to pursue "quiet diplomacy" with them in the meantime; it was left for Mikhail Gorbachev and the second term to directly confront the Soviet leadership, though Reagan always kept their actions and reactions in view and wondered at their oft-reported belief that American aggression was truly imminent.

The book is an interesting reminder of how much has changed—or hasn't—since 1980. We meet Phil Gramm as a Democrat, Newt Gingrich as a second-term congressman with "tempting" ideas on the budget, and Jacques Chirac as mayor of Paris.

It's a remarkably comprehensive view of the daily life and thoughts of an American president. Even reducing the five volumes to one, the demands of the office boggle the mind.

Reagan observed that even the hours away from the Oval Office are spent constantly working, and agreed with Nancy that the president never gets a vacation, only a change of scenery; it is no wonder that chief executives age before our eyes. The wonder of this one is that one of the most successful was also the oldest when he first took the office, and even after eight years and a bullet in the lung, still departed an optimist looking forward to "home & the start of our new life." CJ

BOOKS AUTHORED BY JLF STAFFERS



By John Hood
President of the
John Locke Foundation

Selling the Dream Why Advertising is Good Business



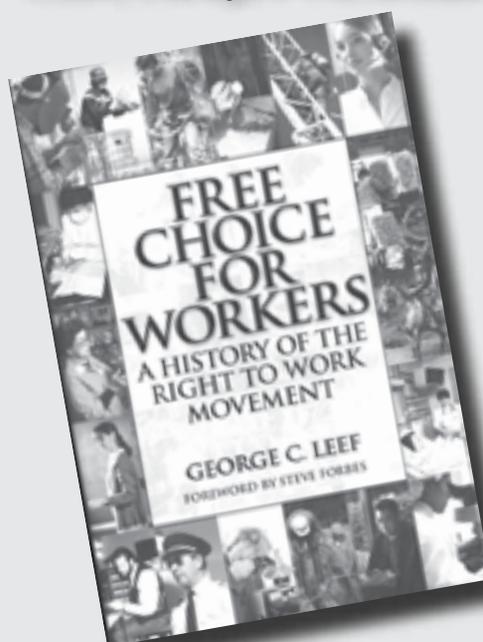
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Choice
April 2006

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A History of the Right to Work Movement



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Commentary

Water Grows As an Issue

While a shortage of water is usually something we think of as an issue in dry portions of the West, it is quickly becoming commonplace in North Carolina. The potential impacts are significant. Forget about limited school capacity as being the limiting factor on growth. Water shortages or inadequate sewer facilities can quickly lead to a state-imposed moratorium on new construction, as several N.C. communities have recently discovered.

Perhaps the highest-profile water dispute pits Concord, Kannapolis, and the state of North Carolina against Hickory and the State of South Carolina. The two



Michael Lowrey

Cabarrus County cities want to draw water from the Catawba River Basin. Hickory and other communities in that basin oppose the move, citing its effects on the adequacy of the local water supply, especially during droughts, and future economic development. The Catawba River doesn't end at the state line, and the downstream neighbor isn't happy about the reallocation, either. South Carolina officials are so unhappy that they are suing North Carolina, which approved the transfer last year, to prevent it from happening.

Union County, Cabarrus County's next-door neighbor, is another place where water supply has become a constraint on growth. Earlier this year, the N.C. Division of Water Quality rejected sewer applications for more than 1,000 homes in the fast-growing county, citing inadequate capacity at the county's largest water treatment plant. The good news is an expansion of the undersized Twelve Mile Creek treatment plant should be completed later this year. The bad news is that the state recently determined that there isn't enough water flow in the creek to allow for any future expansions.

Then there's Raleigh, where year-round water conservation measures just became mandatory and permanent. Residents of even-numbered addresses may water on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sundays, while residents of odd-numbered address may water

on Mondays. No sprinkler or irrigation system use is allowed on Mondays.

Raleigh is addressing its water needs in a unique manner: It's building a second water distribution system to carry water intended for irrigation and industrial use. Water used for these purposes in most places is usually tap water, fit to be directly consumed by humans. The idea in Raleigh is to take

the treated wastewater that would otherwise be discharged back into rivers and creeks and sell for it half the cost of potable water. That would leave more potable water available for the city's growing population.

The city's limits on irrigation wouldn't apply to this so-called "reuse" or "reclaimed" water.

Raleigh plans to have 10 miles of pipes ready to move reclaimed water by 2010, and eventually envisions expanding the system to 145 miles of pipe.

The Wake County town of Knightdale, meanwhile, buys a fixed quantity of water from Raleigh and is using that limit as the means to try and alter its mix of housing. The town has a disproportionate amount of low-income housing. It wants future housing to be of greater value. To get there, it recently decided to limit the amount of water and sewer capacity that can be allocated to moderate-priced housing units.

"Our purpose is to ensure a diverse housing stock," Town Manager Gary McConkey said to *The News & Observer* of Raleigh. "We are therefore setting aside a certain amount [of water and sewer capacity] to be used for low- and moderate-income housing."

Residents of Wilmington are probably sick of hearing about the city's sewer problems.

The state's population is projected to increase from 9 million to about 12.3 million by 2030. Those extra people plus the necessarily associated jobs will inevitably place further strains on the state's water supply and sewer systems. In other words, water as a public policy and development issue will become more critical over time. CJ

Michael Lowrey is associate editor of Carolina Journal.



Editorial

The Mental Health Free Lunch

A single sentence in a recent legislative debate highlights the danger of an overly meddling government: "Do we care enough about the citizens of North Carolina to stop the discrimination against them in insurance coverage for mental illness, just like we've had to stop it for other discrimination with the 24 other mandates that have been passed by the General Assembly?"

Not one mandate. Not two. Not 10 or 20. State lawmakers have forced insurance companies to provide two dozen types of coverage, and Rep. Martha Alexander, D-Mecklenburg, uttered the words above while endorsing a 25th mandate: full insurance coverage for every conceivable strand of mental illness. It's a concept dubbed "mental health parity."

"We do not need to continue discrimination in this body," Alexander said while outlining her bill for state senators. "We need to cover them all."

"Covering them all" in this case means forcing people to buy mental health insurance coverage, even if they have other priorities, said John Locke Foundation fiscal policy analyst Joseph Coletti. "To say that everybody who has insurance has to buy this, which is what this ends up being, becomes extremely expensive."

State senators raised concerns about mandating coverage for all forms of mental illness, but senators still endorsed a limited version of the mental health mandate. Regardless of the extent of mandated "mental health parity," lawmakers cannot stick the entire bill to so-called Big Insurance. Businesses and individuals would pay higher premiums, regardless of their mental health status, Coletti said.

Speaking of costs, the debate over mental health parity and other mandates highlights a larger issue: the need for

market forces in guiding health-care policy. The normal process of weighing costs and benefits causes "more urgent things to be done ahead of less important things when prices ration scarce resources," economist Thomas Sowell noted in his 2004 book *Applied Economics*.

"When patients pay for their own medical treatments, they are more apt to establish priorities, so that someone with a fractured leg is far more likely to go to doctor than someone with a minor headache," Sowell writes. "But, when both are treated free of charge to the patient, then people with minor ailments may take up so much of doctors' time and medical resources that those with more serious medical conditions must be forced to wait."

Now apply the same principle to mental health parity. If coverage is mandatory, and if individuals or businesses are already footing the bill through higher premiums, expect more people to ask for mental health services they might not need.

Some lawmakers understand that point. "We have more benefits, more costs, and premiums are going to go up," Sen. David Hoyle, D-Gaston, said during the mental health parity debate. "I just want to make sure that we don't pass something that costs us more than we can afford." How about telling government to butt out?

Price is not just a barrier that stops people from seeking mental health treatment. Misconceptions about prices lead to "organized attempts by various institutions, laws, and policies to get those prices paid for by someone else," Sowell writes. "For society as a whole, there is no somebody else. Yet few of those in politics seem prepared to face that fact. Economists may say that there is no such thing as a free lunch, but politicians get elected by promising free lunches." CJ

Nuclear Is Energy Future

N.C. leaders should follow the bandwagon or get out of the way

North Carolina's Climate Action Plan Advisory Group and the Legislative Commission on Climate Change have made sustainable energy a priority this legislative session. A proposed "Renewable Portfolio Standard" (RPS) demands that 7.5 percent of North Carolina's energy come from "new renewables"—solar, wind, and biomass. Nuclear power, although it is both renewable and clean, is not included in the proposed legislation.

By 2030, the South Atlantic Grid, which includes North Carolina, will require 22.530 quadrillion BTU's of electricity per year, a 26 percent increase over current energy production levels. The International Energy Agency projects that, even with continued subsidy and research support, these new renewables can provide only 6 percent of world electricity by 2030. They are expensive, inefficient, and unreliable.

Nuclear power — like wind, hydro, and solar energy — can generate electricity with no carbon dioxide or other greenhouse gas emissions, which should please the global warming alarmists at the Division of Environment and Natural Resources and in the General Assembly.

The critical difference between nuclear energy and other so-called "renewables" is that nuclear energy is the only proven option with the capacity to produce vastly expanded supplies

of clean electricity on a global scale. The great advantage of nuclear power lies in the vast amount of energy that can be extracted from a mere handful of the element uranium, which is found in great concentrations underground.

Nuclear energy is economical and reliable. Today, nuclear power plants have a superb safety record — both for plant workers and for the public. The waste from nuclear power has a tiny volume and can be stored safely underground while its radioactivity decays to natural levels. Many North Carolina residents and businesses are already using nuclear power. Nuclear power generation contributes about 35 percent of the electricity used by Progress Energy customers and 47 percent of the electricity used by Duke Energy customers. Overall, 30.8 percent of power generated in North Carolina is nuclear.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission is taking steps to streamline the licensing process for new plant construction. Shearon Harris, one of Progress Energy's two nuclear facilities in North Carolina, recently applied to have its license extended for another 20 years past its original license agreement — until 2046.

N.C. lawmakers have already demonstrated their ineptitude at leading. On the issue of nuclear energy they now have two options: follow or get out of the way. *CJ*

American Dream Still Kicking

Analyzing economic data correctly reveals cause for optimism

In our continuing mission to rescue economic reality from the tender mercies of the Bad News Heirs, we commend to your attention today this paper by James Sherk, the Bradley Fellow in Labor Policy at the Heritage Foundation.

In his piece, "Analyzing Economic Mobility: Compensation Is Keeping Pace with Rising Productivity," Sherk takes on the frequently repeated fallacy that something has gone horribly wrong in the American economy because gains in worker productivity are no longer translating into commensurate increases in worker compensation. Far from it, Sherk found. Analysts of the "Two Americas" school prefer to fiddle around with wage data, which do show relatively weak growth since the early 1970s.

The measure that really matters is not the cash wage, though, but the dollar value of the total compensation that workers receive—including health plans, employer contributions to retirement programs, vacation time, and other non-wage benefits. These benefits have become an increasing share of the average worker's compensation package

since the 1960s, so leaving them out results in a substantial undercounting of the growth of worker compensation since then and its value today.

There are other problems with the data, too. They employ measures that overstate price inflation and understate the real value of goods and services purchased by households over time. There is also a mismatch in the data sets between average data and median data. And changes in family structure can have dramatic effects on income data that are reported per family or per household, given that if a husband and wife each making \$25,000 a year divorce, that means a single household with a \$50,000 income becomes two households with an average income of \$25,000.

Looking only at cash wages adjusted in the normal way, it looks like workers aren't taking home the share of productivity gains they used to. But after Sherk's adjustments, the trend lines since 1987 of productivity gains and real worker compensation per hour are virtually identical. Just relax, folks. The American Dream is very much alive and kicking. *CJ*

Commentary

The Causes of Prosperity

What makes some countries rich and others poor?

It's a question policymakers and economists have debated for centuries, probably for millennia. Adam Smith wrote about the subject more than 200 years ago. Plato, Aristotle, and the post-Confucian philosophers of China weighed in on the subject hundreds of years before the birth of Christ. In today's political debate, you hear all sorts of theories: climate, nature's bounty in flora and fauna, the presence of valuable natural resources, education level, infrastructure, exploitation, sheer luck.

The question is relevant to North Carolina political debate, too, in that variations in economic performance among the states, while not nearly as wide as among countries, are significant enough to draw research attention about what factors are most associated with economic growth, and to what extent these factors are amenable to influence by government policy.

Many popular notions about rich and poor economies are surprisingly lacking in empirical support. Within the United States, it is simply not true that states with more generous incentive policies or higher-education subsidies grow faster than states without them. Internationally, many of the most successful economies in the world are in places such as Japan, Singapore, and Hong Kong that are relatively poor in natural resources, including arable land.

Economist Kirk Hamilton and his colleagues at the World Bank have been pursuing some pathbreaking new research into the question of what makes national economies succeed. Their key insight is that the vast majority of the capital stock in the world economy is held neither in commodities, manufacturers, or financial assets. The most valuable capital is intangible, made up of personal knowledge, skills, social cohesion, and a body of clear and fair rules of conduct and exchange. Hamilton's team estimates that for the world as whole, natural resources account

for just 5 percent of total wealth, with another 18 percent made up of machinery and other human-produced tools and physical assets. The remaining capital stock, 77 percent of the total, is intangible. Its constituent elements are brainpower, habits, and trust.

Moreover, to the extent that countries differ in these relative proportions, the ones with a higher share of total wealth in intangible capital are the wealthiest. For example, Switzerland ranks first in wealth at about \$650,000 per person. Natural resources make up only 1 percent of Switzerland's wealth, while intangible capital makes up 84 percent. On the other hand, the poorest country is Ethiopia, with only \$2,000 in wealth per capita, 41 percent of it in natural resources and 50 percent in intangible capital.

The two most important determinants of a country's intangible capital are education and government corruption. This will sound plausible to many N.C. policymakers, but I'll bet they couldn't guess the proper proportions. Hamilton says that a "rule of law index" measuring corruption, the security of property rights, and other legal matters explains 57 percent of variances in intangible capital. Education explains 36 percent.

To put this in practical terms: assuming that what is true at the level of national economies is also significant at the state level, N.C. policymakers should be paying at least as much attention to rule-of-law issues — raising ethics and lobbying standards, policing government scandals, reforming confusing and counterproductive regulations, strengthening property-rights protections, and providing adequate funding for the state judiciary — as policymakers currently pay to education policy.

The quality of education is, indeed, a critical issue for North Carolina's economy. But strengthening the rule of law is even more critical. *CJ*

Hood is president of the John Locke Foundation.



John Hood

Editorial Briefs

Federal pork and its costs

In recent years, members of Congress have inserted thousands of pork-barrel spending projects into bills to reward interests in their home states. But such parochial pork is only a small part of a broader problem of rising federal spending on traditionally state and local activities, says Chris Edwards, director of tax policy studies at the Cato Institute.

Federal spending on aid to states increased from \$286 billion in fiscal 2000 to an estimated \$449 billion in fiscal 2007 and is the third-largest item in the federal budget after Social Security and national defense. The number of different aid programs for the states soared from 463 in 1990, to 653 in 2000, to 814 by 2006.

The theory behind aid to the states is that federal policymakers can design and operate programs in the national interest to efficiently solve local problems, Edwards said. In practice, most federal politicians are not inclined to pursue broad, national goals; they are consumed by the competitive scramble to secure subsidies for their states. At the same time, federal aid stimulates overspending by the states, requires large bureaucracies to administer, and comes with a web of complex regulations that limit state flexibility.

By involving all levels of government in just about every policy area, the aid system creates a lack of accountability. When every government is responsible for an activity, no government is responsible, as was evident in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina.

FDA: friend or foe?

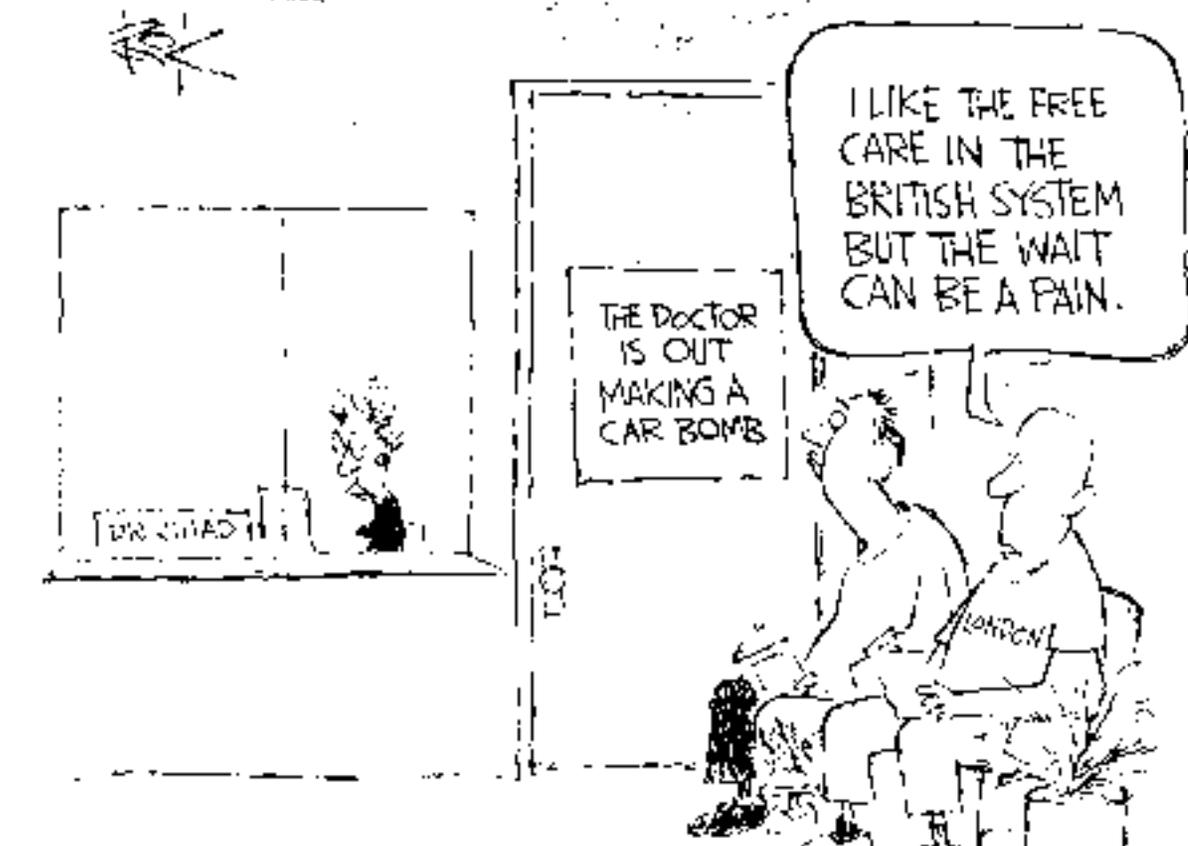
The U.S. Food and Drug Administration recently rejected Arcoxia, a new COX-2 inhibitor made by Merck, writes Walter E. Williams. In explaining the FDA's disapproval, Robert Meyer, director of the agency's Office of Drug Evaluation, told reporters that "simply having another drug on the market" wasn't "sufficient reason to approve the product unless there was a unique role defined."

According to Hoover Institution scholars David Henderson and Charles Hooper, that position greatly exceeds the FDA's mandate to determine a drug's safety and effectiveness. Arcoxia has been tested on more than 34,000 U.S. patients. It has been approved for use in England, Germany, and 61 other countries in Asia, Latin America, and Europe.

According to the FDA's literature, its mandate is to put together an expert FDA review team for new drug applicants to evaluate whether the studies the sponsor submitted show that the drug is safe and effective for its proposed use. Nothing in the FDA mandate requires that a drug has to be better than what's currently available in order to win approval.

Henderson and Hooper argue that in the worst-case scenario where Arcoxia is no better than existing drugs, it would compete with those drugs. A new drug that competes with existing drugs would moderate drug prices and cause competitors to stay on their toes. CJ

CARTOON BY: PHILIP J. HARRIS



How Is North Carolina's Economy Changing?

Two recent announcements signaled the continuing change in the N.C. economy. The first was that the giant Philip Morris cigarette factory near Charlotte was closing. Days later, Hanes, an apparel manufacturer, announced major job cutbacks.

But these were only the latest blows to tobacco and textiles. Throughout most of the 20th century, North Carolina's Big Three of tobacco, textiles (including apparel), and furniture (including lumber and paper) dominated the state's economy. As recently as the late 1970s, the Big Three accounted for 22 percent of the state's economic production and two-thirds of all manufacturing production.

Today, output from the Big Three is only 7 percent of total output in the state and one-fourth of manufacturing production. A total of 300,000 jobs have been cut in the industries in the last three decades.

As indicated by the impending downsizing at Philip Morris and Hanes, the reductions aren't over. Industry observers expect more production and job cuts in the Big Three at least over the next decade. The Big Three's share of the state economy will shrink to 4 percent, and an additional 50,000 jobs will be eliminated.

Yet the industries won't disappear. There will likely always be smokers in the country to supply. The textile industry is seeing growth in nonclothing products related to residential and commercial construction, and more apparel production will be focused on high-end styles as well as high-tech specialty clothing to military and business buyers. Domestic furniture factories will cater to smaller niche markets and emphasize speed of delivery and service after the sale.

However, if the Big Three carried North Carolina's economy for much of the last century, and if those companies are now disappearing, then what has this meant for the overall state economy? Are we floundering and falling behind? It would be understandable if the answer were "yes."

The answer, though, is "no." In the last 30 years North Carolina's economy has actually grown faster than the national economy, and income per person has approached the nationwide average. Of course, the progress hasn't been in a straight line, but over the long haul, North Carolina's economy has risen rather than fallen.

The reason is that the N.C. economy has been totally remade over three decades. The Big Three of tobacco, textiles, and furniture has been replaced by the Big Five of technology, pharmaceuticals, banking, food processing, and vehicle parts. Highways leading to computers, medicines, banks, meat products, and car accessories have replaced Tobacco Road.

Unfortunately, the transformation hasn't been smooth or without issues. One problem is that the workers let go by the Big Three don't necessarily have the training and skills required by positions in the new Big Five.

The second issue is that the transformation has not occurred in every region of the state. Most of the new income and jobs created by the Big Five have been in urbanized counties along the Interstate 40-Interstate 85 corridor stretching from Wilmington to the Triangle to the Triad and to Charlotte. Many of the state's rural and small towns have been left out of the new economy and are still reliant on the Big Three.

To paraphrase an old car ad, "this is not your father's North Carolina." Economies have always changed — it's just that the pace of change seems faster today. The challenge for the state is, among this change, to keep moving forward. The challenge for individuals and communities is to arm themselves with the skills, talents, and vision necessary for what are ahead — no small tasks, indeed! CJ



Michael
Walden

Michael L. Walden is a William Neal Reynolds distinguished professor at North Carolina State University and an adjunct scholar of the John Locke Foundation.

Government Collective Bargaining Means Higher Taxes

House Bill 1583 would repeal the existing statute (NC Gen Stat §95-98), which prohibits city, town, county, or state employees from entering into an agreement or contract with any labor union. The measure would restore contract or collective bargaining rights to local government and state employees and teachers.



Becki Gray

Collective bargaining is the process of negotiation between workers and management to determine conditions of employment. It would inflate taxpayer-funded jobs, discourage economic development, and limit government workers from negotiating their own individual employment contracts.

During the 2004 election cycle, a coalition that is pushing the legislation gave more than \$2.3 million to state legislative candidates. The coalition includes:

- State Employees Association of North Carolina, the largest non-union public employee association in the nation
- Service Employees International Union
- N.C. State American Federa-

tion of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

- American Federation of Teachers
- International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 391
- N.C. Coalition of Police/International Union of Police Association
- The Professional Fire Fighters and Paramedics of North Carolina

North Carolina is a right-to-work state, meaning that employees in a unionized workplace cannot be forced to pay "agency fees" to the union if they decline to be union members.

Under House Bill 1583, all active and retired state and local government employees and teachers may choose to have deductions taken from their pay or retirement checks to be paid to the employees or retirement association. Historically, union organizers use strong-arm tactics to coerce workers to join against their will or without accurate information to make an informed decision.

The percentage of workers represented by labor unions has been declining for decades, but government is the only sector of the economy where unions have consistently grown for several years. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, government employees are more than four times more likely to unionize than those in the private sector, costing the taxpayer plenty.

According to the Center for Union Facts, 3 percent of the total workforce in North Carolina is unionized, while 8.7 percent of government employees belong to a union. The average public-sector salary is \$33,037, while the average government employee salary is \$37,854. North Carolina residents could pay 4.57 percent less in state income taxes if they weren't paying for inflated government employee union wages.

In many well-publicized instances across the country, demands made by the unions to unreasonably increase salary and benefits have put companies out of business, and workers lost their jobs. When government employees unionize, the "company" won't go out of business but increased demands result in huge tax increases for taxpayers. Each percentage in increased salary for state employees costs taxpayers about \$107 million.

The government is in the business of providing services to citizens. This requires well-trained workers. Government is in competition to hire these workers, providing government with plenty of incentive to treat those employees well and compensate them fairly.

In collective bargaining, it is the role of the unions to make demands of the government. When those demands are not met, unions often strike. In a government strike, the

union's demands are usually met to avoid a shutdown of essential services. Imagine what would happen if teachers decided to strike during the school year.

Many workers believe that the high price they pay in dues will not bring better benefits. A large portion of the dues collected goes into political campaigns for candidates and to support issues many workers do not believe in. If a majority of the workers want to be unionized, even if it's 51 percent, their preference is binding on everyone. Once a union is in place, all the workers have to accept it as their representative in all bargaining, even if they'd rather negotiate on their own behalf.

North Carolina has the second lowest percentage of unionized employees in the country at 2.9 percent. South Carolina is the lowest at 2.3 percent. Companies want to avoid the stranglehold of unions. They look for environments that encourage entrepreneurship and job creation to establish and grow their business. Economic development works best when free-market decisions are encouraged. Collective bargaining for government employees will spur higher taxes and discourage economic development in North Carolina. CJ

Becki Gray is director of the State Policy Resource Center.

Thank Elizabeth Dole For Upholding the Rule of Law

This summer Sen. Elizabeth Dole of North Carolina helped scuttle the so-called "grand bargain" immigration reform bill that would have given amnesty to more than 12 million to 20 million illegal immigrants — while doing virtually nothing to secure U.S. borders.

Backed by President Bush, who was looking to enhance his legacy, and Sens. Ted Kennedy and John Kyle, the bill was accurately described by former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani as "a mess."

The last straw for conservatives was when Bush attacked his own conservative base and talk radio for a lack of patriotism. "If you don't want to do what's right for America," he said of opponents of the Bush-Kennedy immigration bill, "if you want to scare the American people, what you say is the bill's an amnesty bill. That's empty political rhetoric, trying to frighten



Marc Rotterman

our citizens."

But if all of the illegal aliens are instantly legalized, what other phrase describes that other than amnesty?

The Heritage Foundation said Congress should set aside this "grand bargain" and begin anew the serious work of crafting sensible immigration reforms that will:

- Enhance rather than compromise national security;
- Affirm, rather than undermine, rule of law;
- Facilitate economic growth in a fiscally responsible fashion;
- Create a temporary worker program that is balanced, market driven, and enforceable, and enrich the fabric of our culture while uniting us as a people.

Dole understood, as did many conservatives outside Washington, D.C., that none of the above would be accomplished by passing the grand bargain. In an interview with *The News & Observer* of Raleigh, Dole said, "My view overall on all this is: What people want, and what we've heard from thousands of people, is they don't have any confidence right now with regard to securing the borders."

"The rush shouldn't be to legalize 12 million people; the rush should be to do everything in our power to show the borders have been secured," she said. "Rush to do that. Rush to secure communities."

The senator was right on target. Dole first tried to make improvements to the bill, but after essentially being blocked, Dole changed tactics: "Basically the bill comes down," she said. Dole was pressured by the GOP leadership and the backers of the immigration reform measure not to make a move. She changed her vote anyway. This was an act of political courage that North Carolinians have not witnessed since former Sen. Jesse Helms stood firm against the Panama Canal Treaty.

For those of us in the conservative movement, the rejection of the immigration bill opens a chance for real reform — reform that respects the will of the majority of the citizens of the United States, reform that protects both our economic and national security.

First on the agenda, we must stop new illegal immigrants from entering the country by funding and

building the 700 miles of wall authorized by Congress and signed into law last year by Bush. Also, we should make it less attractive to all employers to hire illegals by imposing heavy fines on them for doing so.

Illegal immigration is not some sort of uncontrollable force of nature. It can and should be regulated. The rule of law and our borders must be respected by those who would come here.

Like many other citizens of the United States, my great grandparents came through Ellis Island — legally. They learned to speak English, studied American history and became productive citizens.

By opposing the Bush-McCain-Kennedy amnesty bill, Dole signaled a way for a new approach: Enforcement first, amnesty last, and open arms for hard-working laborers and skilled immigrants from across the world who want to come here legally to be part of the American dream. CJ

Marc Rotterman is a senior fellow of the John Locke Foundation in Raleigh and a former member of the board of the American Conservative Union.

Judge Nixes Jobs Potential of 'Project Mumbler' (a *CJ* parody)

By I. N. SENTIFF
Staff Writer

RALEIGH

N.C. Department of Commerce officials suffered a blow in July when a judge thwarted their latest plans to trade a package of targeted tax incentives for the promise of new jobs.

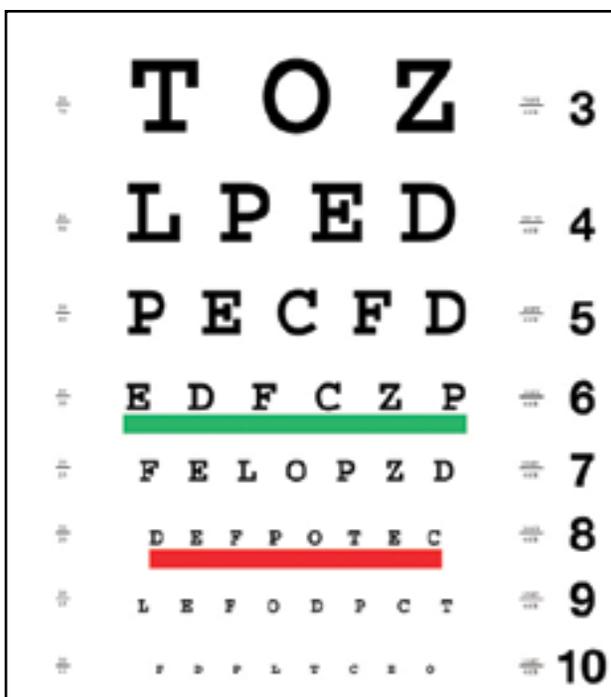
"We had the press release all ready to go, and then the judge up and decided to send Jim Black to prison," said a Commerce staffer who spoke with *Carolina Journal* under the agreement that his name would not be used. "Now we'll have to find someone else to take our incentive money."

Documents obtained by *CJ* show that Commerce economic developers had been targeting Black for incentives, ever since they learned of his proposal to avoid time behind bars. The former N.C. House speaker faced the prospect of up to 10 years in federal prison, after pleading guilty in February to federal corruption charges.

But Black's lawyers filed paper work July 9 suggesting that he should pay his debt to society by using his 40 years of experience as an optometrist. The lawyers suggested Black could give 2,000 free eye exams a year, offering a \$543,882 benefit to taxpayers.

"As soon as we saw that dollar figure, the wheels started turning," the Commerce staffer told *CJ*. "What if Speaker Black created new jobs for people who could help him conduct all of those eye exams? Good-paying jobs? Jobs that could help North Carolina move into the knowledge-based economy?"

Once the idea sprouted, internal documents



show the incentive machinery started moving forward. "First, we gave the project a code name," the Commerce staffer said. "Every incentives project needs a good code name. Given the speaker's diction, we called this one 'Project Mumbler.'"

"Then we calculated the number of jobs Speaker Black could reasonably get away with saying he would create," the staffer said. "Some people got a little carried away. They thought this could be the next Google or

Dell. But after some haggling, we settled on 10 as a nice round number of employees for 'Project Mumbler.'"

The Commerce Department then threw the numbers into its economic development formula to determine how much impact the project was likely to have on the N.C. economy.

"Looking back at that \$543,000 figure, we realized that number didn't have anything to do with actual money," the staffer said. "That was disappointing. But we figured Speaker Black would be able to convince some chiropractors to invest in the new operation. Maybe a lobbyist would front him half-a-million bucks."

The project faced some other challenges. "Legislators are always giving us grief that most of these incentives seem to go to big, wealthy counties that have no trouble attracting jobs," the staffer said. "We thought 'Project Mumbler' might be a good fit for an underserved rural county, but then we noticed that Speaker Black would face house arrest in Mecklenburg County. Oh, well."

U.S. District Judge Terrence Boyle spoiled Commerce Department plans July 11, when he rejected the eye exam proposal and sentenced Black to 63 months in federal prison.

"Now we have to come up with another way to meet the governor's incentives quota," the staffer said. "I'm not too worried. I've been coaching the neighbor kid who mows my lawn. I'll have him call a legislator and threaten to take his lawn-care business to Virginia, unless he gets a Job Development Investment Grant." *CJ*



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